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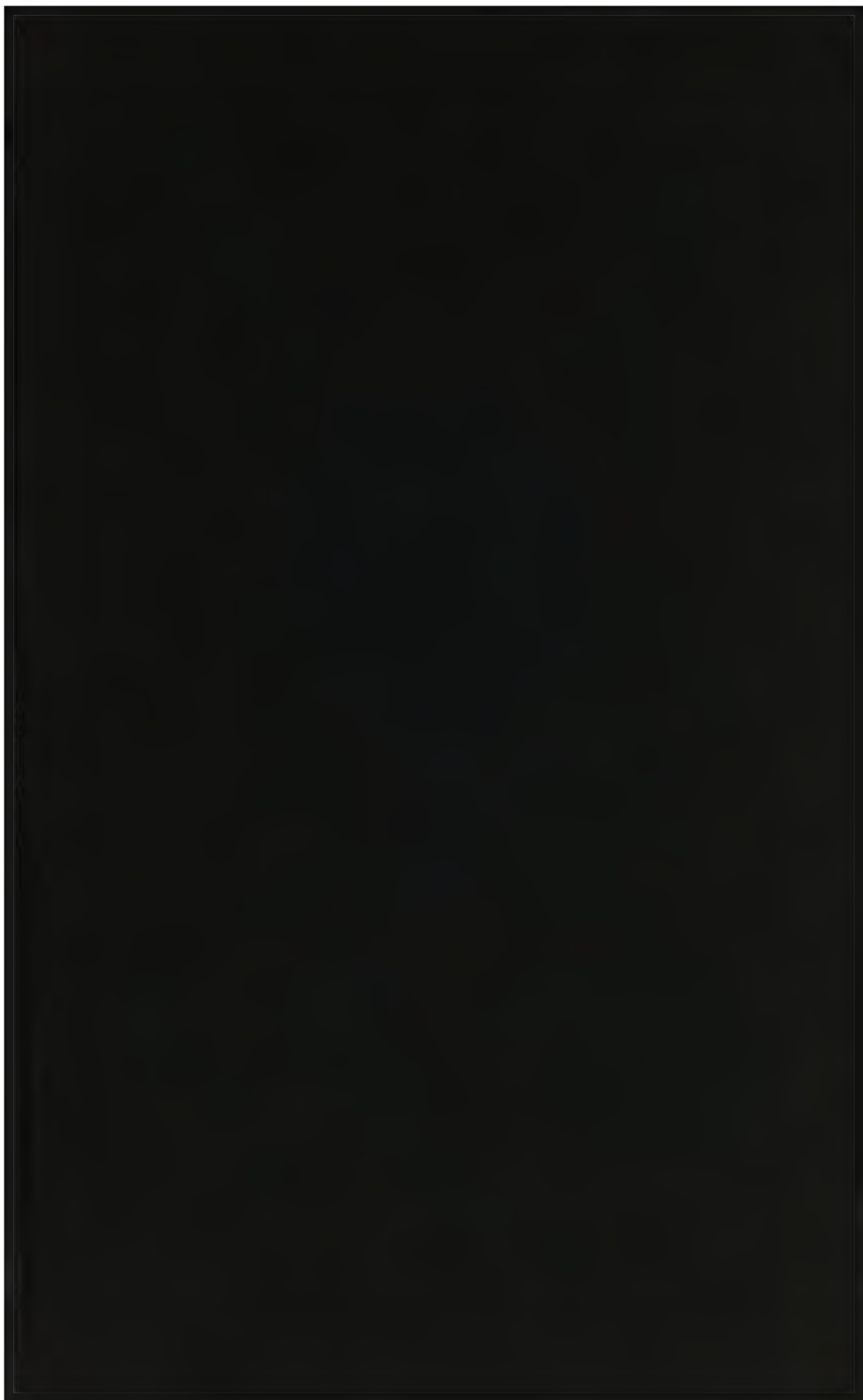
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LETTERS

MARY,

QUEEN OF SCOTS

AND

LIVES OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS



HENRY COLBURN, PRINTER, MARLBOROUGH STREET

1848

LETTERS
OF
MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

NOW
FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINALS,
COLLECTED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES,
PRIVATE AS WELL AS PUBLIC,
WITH
AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,
BY AGNES STRICKLAND,

AUTHOR OF "THE LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND."

"Whoever corrects the relations of history by the private letters of those who were the actors of the times will learn at every step, as he advances, to distrust the prejudices of others and his own."

Sir John Dalrymple.

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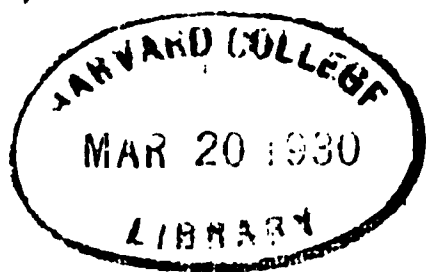
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LONDON :

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TO
MISS JANE PORTER.

THE AUTHOR OF "THADDEUS OF WARSAW," AND EDITOR OF "THE AUTOGRAPHS
SIR PHILIP SIDNEY,"

THESE VOLUMES
OF THE LETTERS OF MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Are Inscribed,

IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HER GENEROUS EXERTIONS. AND
THOSE OF HER ACCOMPLISHED BROTHER,

THE LATE SIR ROBERT KERR PORTER,

IN OBTAINING
TRANSCRIPTS FROM THE ROYAL AUTOGRAPH COLLECTION IN THE
IMPERIAL LIBRARY, ST. PETERSBURGH,

AND ALSO.

AS A SLIGHT TOKEN OF THE LOVE AND ESTEEM OF
HER AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,

AGNES STRICKLAND.

London, June 14, 1843.

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P R E F A C E.

THE happy idea of publishing the correspondence of **Mary Queen of Scots** in chronological order with other contemporary documents, illustrative of the character and personal history of that unfortunate Princess, first originated with Prince Alexander Labanoff. His valuable volume, "**The inedited Letters of Mary Stuart,**" published in the original French, at Paris, in 1839, has been justly regarded as one of the most important of the recent contributions to historical literature. That volume was, however, as its title implied, confined to letters and state papers connected with **Mary Stuart**, that had never before been published; and these scattered treasures, even when gathered together by the illustrious Northern Antiquary, remained as disjointed links, till they could be united to the general chain of **Mary's** letters, which form almost an autobiographical history of the latter years of what she truly terms her "troublous pilgrimage."

Of the two collections of "**Letters of Mary Queen of**

Scots," which I have recently had the honour of introducing to the English reader, the first, published November, 1842, in two volumes, comprised translations of the Labanoff Collection, blended with additional letters and documents. The interest excited by those volumes, caused arrangements to be made for the publication of a third, containing a separate and distinct collection, which was commenced by my sister and myself, previously to the appearance of the first volume of the "Lives of the Queens of England," in preparation for a personal memoir of Mary Queen of Scots.

The first and second volumes of the first edition were in print, before I obtained the inedited letters of Mary Stuart, and the other unpublished documents connected with her annals, which had been for so many years buried, among the almost inaccessible MSS. in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. Through the kind intervention of my late lamented friend, Sir Robert Kerr Porter, permission was granted from the highest authority that transcripts should be made for my use, of such as were specified by his distinguished sister, Miss Jane Porter. Catalogues of the whole, were at the same time sent for my information by Mr. Atkinson, the learned librarian of his Imperial Majesty, at St. Petersburg,* and subsequently transcripts of the residue of

* On her return from St. Petersburg, in 1842, Miss Porter put me in possession of the above, together with a copy of Prince Alexander Labanoff's volume of inedited Letters of Mary Stuart, which having become a scarce book, even in the native city of the noble Russian collector, a copy was with

those royal autographs, were most kindly and liberally forwarded to me by that gentleman.

Thus, in a manner almost un hoped for, are several important links in Mary Stuart's correspondence united to the general chain of historical documents, already before the public. They are all blended in the present edition, in chronological order, with other letters and contemporary records of equal interest, many of them hitherto inedited, and, for the most part, translated for the first time from faithful transcripts of the original French autographs in the Bibliothèque du Roi, the Cottonian MSS. and other authentic sources.

As it was, however, only fair to allow the purchasers of the first and second volumes the opportunity of completing the series of Mary's letters, without entailing upon any one the necessity of purchasing the second edition of the work, the new collection was published, in the first instance, as a third or supplementary volume, and it was intimated, at the same time, that both collections would be re-arranged and amalgamated in progressive, instead of lateral, order, in the event of a reprint being required. The opportunity of redeeming that pledge is happily afforded at a much earlier moment than could have been anticipated; and I have now the satisfaction of presenting the work in, I trust, an improved state. Both collections are blended in a chronological stream, and the letters will be read in the order in which they were written, with the addition

some difficulty procured for me by Sir Robert Kerr Porter, only three days before his too early death deprived England and the present age of one of their brightest ornaments.

also, of several letters and documents not contained in the first edition. Copious biographical and historical notes, illustrative of the letters, have been appended, and the whole linked together by a new division of Prince Labanoff's valuable Chronology of the Events of Mary's Life. The orthography of the first collection has been in a great measure modernized, and a re-arrangement and revision of the Appendix have been effected, in the hope of rendering the Letters of Mary Queen of Scots, not only of increased value to the historical student, but available for family reading.

A more characteristic and attractive portrait of Mary Queen of Scots, has, in the present edition, been substituted, as the frontispiece of the work, for the engraving from the Hampton Court painting of *La Blanche Reine* of the first edition. The vignette in the title-page is from a medal representing herself and Darnley, in which it may be observed she has given the precedence, in titular regality, to her spouse. The vignette on the covers of the volumes, is drawn from Mary's monumental statue in Westminster Abbey. A fac-simile is given from the Bodleian Collection of a letter written by Mary to Elizabeth; likewise fac-similes of the signatures of the principal lords of her party, from the original document in the possession of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia; also, the letter and the autographs of those members of Elizabeth's council, by whom that letter, which accompanied the warrant for the execution of the captive queen, was sent.

A. S.



HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO THE

LETTERS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

BY AGNES STRICKLAND.

OF all the forgotten treasures of the past, which the historical antiquaries of the present day have succeeded in bringing to light, royal letters are not only the most interesting, but calculated to render the greatest service to the cause of truth. What evidence, indeed, can afford so fair a test of the moral qualities and intellectual powers of persons, who have played a conspicuous part in the arena of public life, as that which has been furnished by their own pens?

The epistolary talents of Mary Queen of Scots, though acknowledged to be of a very superior order, have scarcely been, as yet, rated at their full value. No one, however, who is capable of appreciating the beautiful simplicity of her style and the eloquence of her language, can deny that her letters very far surpass those of her most accomplished contemporaries, not even excepting those of Bacon and Sir Philip Sidney. It is a positive refreshment to turn from the laborious, pedantic, and mystified compositions of Queen Elizabeth, to the easy, unaffected, perspicuous

letters of Mary Stuart. The great charm of these consists, first, in the purity and piety of the sentiments she expresses; and next, that they carry a direct conviction to the heart that they are the genuine transcripts of the royal writer's mind, bearing, as they do, evidences of the various passions by which that mind was agitated at the passing moment, whether grief, indignation, tenderness, or devotion, were the prevailing feeling.

That letters so deeply interesting in themselves, and of such great importance as historical documents of the reigns both of Mary of Scotland and Elizabeth of England, should have remained unpublished for nearly three centuries, may appear surprising; but the wonder ceases when we consider that this correspondence has been for the most part locked up in foreign repertoires, private collections, and, generally speaking, more widely dispersed than that of any other historical character. At the time of the French Revolution, some of her autograph letters were purloined from the royal collections, and were even carried to Warsaw and St. Petersburg.

That portion of Mary's correspondence which is to be found in the British Museum, and in other accessible sources in this country, is intelligible only to persons who are skilled in the mysteries of documentary lore. Mary wrote habitually in French—the French of the sixteenth century: her handwriting is often difficult to decipher, as she herself notices, with pathetic apologies for its badness, sometimes on account of severe inflammation in her eyes; and, at others, because her tears blotted her paper by falling upon it as she wrote,—and occasionally she penned her letters in absolute darkness. Besides those too visible evidences of the royal writer's sufferings of mind and body, which have, in some instances, obliterated words and confused sentences,

her orthography is such as to require a particular study even to copy it, much more to understand it. Such of her letters as have been printed, are either in the original French or in the obsolete language, in which contemporary translated copies were made of some of those addressed to Queen Elizabeth and her ministers; and though biographical use has been made of them by the historians both of her life and reign, and that of Elizabeth, they remain, to all but the few, a sealed book.

It is not, perhaps, the least astonishing of the marvels which the systematic research of the present age has brought to pass, to see so large a portion of a correspondence, which, for the most part, emanated from sternly guarded prisons—whether the letters were intercepted, as was frequently the case, by the watchful spies of Elizabeth's council, or, almost by miracle, reached their destinations in distant realms—surviving the accidents and natural effects of time, and thus, after the lapse of nearly three centuries, drawn progressively together, and placed, almost in the order in which they were written, before the general reader.

It is a study of no common interest to unfold page after page, bearing the impress of the queenly captive's feelings, while she penned her prison letters to friend and foe, and far distant kindred. The secret things she wrote in trembling apprehension, in the midnight privacy of her innermost closet, veiled under, what she fondly imagined to be, the impenetrable mysteries of cypher, and stealthily despatched by messengers, who incurred the peril of the rack and the gibbet, if suspected of being charged with such missives—are now, for the most part, laid open to the world.

Most deeply, however, it is to be regretted, that a parcel of her autograph letters, so precious as historical

evidences on disputed points, have been for ever lost to the investigators of truth, through the mistaken kindness of the noble-minded John Evelyn, in confiding them to hands unworthy of so sacred a trust as original, and unfortunately, uncopied documents. The fact shall be related in the injured philosopher's own words, which imply much more than his gentle nature permitted him to express, in reprobation of the dishonesty, or unconscientious carelessness of the parties, by whom he had been deprived of treasures, which money could not replace.

“But what most of all and still afflicts me,” says he, “is, that those letters and papers of the Queen of Scots,¹ originals written with her own hand to Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Leicester, before and during her imprisonment, which I furnished to Dr. Burnet (now Bishop of Salisbury), some of which were printed in his ‘History of the Reformation,’ those, *and others with them*, are pretended to have been lost at the press, which has been a quarrel between me and his lordship, who lays the fault on Chiswell (his printer or publisher); so between them, I have lost the originals, which had been now as safe records as any you can find in *that* history.”²

¹ Evelyn's Letter to Archdeacon Nicholson of Carlisle, vol. iv. of his works, p. 395.

² Thus Evelyn explains the question so often asked by historians, of “What has become of the originals of Burnet's documents?” There is a deep satisfaction in every honest writer when, after making a statement often adverse to commonly received opinion, the reference is noted, which guides the reader to those silent witnesses, where truth keeps patient watch, till the veil woven by party prejudice is withdrawn by time. Antique autographs, with their obsolete superscriptions dispel many a falsehood with which the public has been abused.

The person who is guilty of the destruction of historical documents commits a national crime next unto sacrilege, and violates the ninth commandment in the highest degree. Had Burnet felt an honest wish of having his work thus compared, he would not have committed the outrage of which Evelyn so indignantly complains. Such was the fate of one great mass of Mary's autograph letters. What could have induced Burnet to make away with autographs which he did not print from, it would be difficult for any one to guess who had not closely examined his mode of writing history. But had Mary's letters given evil impressions of her character, they would have been better preserved, and restored to their rightful owner.

Another important series of letters, seemingly the correspondence of Mary's Secretary of State, Maitland of Lethington, have been lost to the public by a second defraud on Evelyn. The person who committed it has fewer partisans than Burnet, being no other than that Duke of Lauderdale, who has obtained much undesirable celebrity as one of the most unprincipled ministers of Charles II. Evelyn says,—

“The rest I have named I lent to Bishop Burnet's countryman, the late Duke of Lauderdale, who honouring me with his presence in the country, and after dinner discoursing of a Maitland (an ancestor of his), of whom I had several letters *impacketted* with many others, desired I would trust them with him for a *few days*. It is now more than a *few years*, that being put off from time to time, till the death of his grace ; when his library was selling, my letters and papers could no where be found or recovered. So, as by this treachery my collection being broken, I bestowed the remainder on a worthy and curious friend of mine (*supposed to be*

Pepys) who is not likely to trust a *Scotsman* with any thing he values !”¹

Those of Queen Mary’s countrymen interested in her fate will forgive the taunt, and consider the provocation felt by this zealous collector of her autographs. The pilfering *charlatans* of the *sans-culotte* school, who abstracted the royal autographs from the Bibliothèque du Roi, and by selling them in foreign lands enriched other collections, did less mischief in their vocation than the episcopal historian and ducal cabinet minister, by whom the worthy Evelyn was bereaved; since those, for instance, which found their way into Russia, through the gracious permission of the imperial owner, are still available for historical and biographical purposes. It is to be hoped that all the existing letters of Mary Stuart, of which many are at present locked up in private collections, will in time be thrown open to the public, in addition to those which I have now the satisfaction of introducing.

The present collection commences with the earliest accessible specimen of the epistolary correspondence of that queen which has been yet discovered. It was copied by Prince Labanoff from the original autograph in the Bethune Collection, and was evidently written soon after her marriage with the Dauphin, afterwards Francis II. It is addressed to the Constable Montmorenci, whom she playfully styles “*Mon Compère*,” a title of endearing familiarity. The letter relates to a claim made by the son of M. de Secondat, to an estate belonging to Mary, which had been secured to her by her marriage articles. She was then about seventeen.

¹ Evelyn’s Works, vol. iv., Letter to Archdeacon Nicholson, p. 396.

She makes a childish attempt at diplomacy, by begging the constable to acquaint her royal father, Henry II., that the reason she wanted the money was, that she might have it in her power to entertain him in a house of her own, arranged in the way he had recommended to her. The suit, that was then commenced by Secondat for the disputed property, continued to harass and impoverish Mary for many years of her life, as we find by her letters from Tutbury and Sheffield.

The fourth letter, vol. i. p. 6, is one of peculiar interest; it is written by Mary to Philip II. of Spain, in reply to his letter of condolence on the death of her first husband, Francis II. of France, and bears witness to the passionate manner in which the youthful monarch was lamented by the disconsolate widow of eighteen, who styles herself "the most afflicted poor woman under heaven."¹

This touching letter must have been written very early in the year 1561. The next, which is addressed to the Constable Montmorenci, is dated from Edinburgh, the 8th of October, 1561, and commences the series of her letters from Scotland, of which the first volume contains twenty-three. At page 10 occurs the first of three addressed to her cousin, the Duke de Nemours, of whom a little biographical notice is added; they are written in the easy graceful style which usually characterizes the familiar letters of this accomplished princess. In the third (p. 13) she speaks with pleasure

¹ Though Francis was plain in person and unattractive in manners, Mary was devotedly attached to him in life and cherished his memory with the greatest tenderness. She composed some beautiful elegiac verses in French on his death, of which specimens will be given with translations, in her forthcoming memoir, which will succeed the "Lives of the Queens of England."

of the good-will manifested towards her by the English, and with confidence of the friendly professions of Queen Elizabeth.

The letter to her uncle's widow, Anne, Duchess of Guise (p. 25), on the subject of the approaching marriage of that lady with the said Duke of Nemours, is very interesting ; it is dated at an anxious period, May, 1566, between the murder of Rizzio and the birth of her first-born child, James I. None of the joyful anticipations with which the near prospect of bringing an heir to her realm might, under other circumstances, have filled the heart of the youthful sovereign, are expressed. She speaks only of the troubles and vexations with which she finds herself surrounded, and the weariness of body incidental to her condition ; yet she enters with affectionate interest into the happy prospects of the duchess on her approaching union with her chivalric kinsman of Nemours, and adds her wishes for their mutual felicity with unaffected kindness. The unhappy differences which had alienated the hearts of the royal pair, are by no means perceptible in the letter from Darnley to Mary's uncle (Cardinal Guise), (p. 28), announcing the birth of their infant son, afterwards James I. This letter, though brief, is affectionately worded, and expresses the natural feelings of conjugal and paternal joy, at an event calculated to increase the importance of the writer, and to cement the close though rudely shaken tie by which he was united to the royal mother of the newly-born heir of Scotland. Darnley's letter is from the Labanoff collection.

The paper (p. 30), containing the instructions given to M. de Mauvissière on his appointment to convey the congratulation of his sovereign to Queen Mary on the birth of her son, betrays the fact, that the Court of France was well aware how deeply Darnley had in-

curred the displeasure of his consort, for the ambassador is enjoined not to deliver any letters of congratulation to him without first ascertaining the pleasure of that lady. This important document, which contains also some account of the pecuniary difficulties of Mary's government, was copied by Prince Labanoff from the Brienne collection.

The first of Mary's inedited letters in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburg, is from the Queen of Scots to Charles IX. (p. 34), and was written the very day before she fell ill of the fever at Jedburgh, which had nearly proved fatal to her. The letter is brief, and chiefly interesting from the circumstances under which it was penned.

It is impossible to read without feelings of deep commiseration, the evidences of Mary's domestic infelicity, contained in the confidential letter of Monsieur du Croc, the French ambassador at her court, to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador at Paris, (p. 37.) After mentioning the illness of the queen, he says, "I do believe the principal part of her disease to consist in a deep grief and sorrow, nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same; still she repeats the words, 'I could wish to be dead.' You know very well the injury her majesty hath received is very great, and she can never forget it." In this letter, Du Croc predicts, that there would never more be any good understanding between Mary and her husband,—the silver tie was broken: she had been deceived and outraged, and he had lost her confidence. "The queen cannot perceive him speaking with any nobleman," pursues du Croc, "but presently she suspects some plot amongst them." This sad state of things subsisted at the time preparations were making for the baptism of the infant prince,

whose birth ought to have proved a new bond of union between the royal parents.

The restless agitation of Darnley at that period, the contempt with which he was regarded by the representative of the Court of France, and the piteous description of the profound melancholy of the poor young queen, whom his excellency says, when he came to speak to her on private business, "he found laid on her bed, and weeping sore," (p. 40,) afford a touching picture of sceptred misery.

This letter is dated the 23rd of December, 1566.

The next paper (p. 41) is of great interest, being a translation from the original Italian of part of a letter from the Papal Nuncio at Paris to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, relative to the mysterious murder of the unhappy Darnley, of which some new and remarkable particulars are related from the report of persons, who were near the spot when it occurred. Then follows (p. 42) an official letter from Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador at Paris, on the same subject.

It appears that the archbishop had received and communicated to the queen, just before this tragic occurrence took place, an intimation that some plot was in agitation against her life; for she says, after alluding to the information he had sent to her by his servant, "that she finds, by the effect, that it was over true, although the success had not been altogether what the authors of that mischievous fact had preconceived;" and goes on to express her conviction, "that this wicked enterprize was designed against herself as well as the king."

A most interesting letter from Du Croc, the French ambassador, to Queen Catherine de Medicis occurs (p.

45), in which that statesman describes with tragic brevity the hapless Mary's deportment, as the bride of the ruffian Bothwell, and her unutterable despair.

It is impossible for any one who reads those details, and remembers that they were written by a person who was behind the scenes, and related that which he had heard and seen, to believe for one moment that Bothwell was ever the object of Mary Stuart's love; or that her marriage with him originated from any other cause than dire necessity. In her differences with Darnley, we trace the bitterness of offended lovers on both sides; while, in her demeanour to Bothwell, as described by Du Crec, we trace no other feeling than terror and loathing repugnance. That gentleman, who was on terms of confidence with Mary, and had accurate means of knowing her real sentiments with regard to those abhorrent nuptials, evidently regarded them as compulsory; and in this very letter to the Queen-regent of France, written only the day after their celebration, says, "I will neither mix myself up with those nuptials, nor will I recognize him (Bothwell) as the husband of the queen. I believe he will write to you by the Bishop of Dumblane. *You ought not to answer him;*" (p. 51). This letter throws more light on the real nature of the defenceless queen's position with regard to Bothwell than any evidence that has yet been quoted by friend or foe.

A very curious inedited letter from Queen Elizabeth to Catherine de Medicis, on the subject of Mary Stuart, occurs, (p. 55.) It is from the Imperial Collection at St. Petersburg, dated October 16, 1567, while Mary was a prisoner in the Castle of Lochleven. Elizabeth speaks of her with compassion, "as her desolate cousin the Queen of Scots," and expresses satisfaction at the declaration she had just received, that it was the inten-

tion of Catherine and her son, the King of France, to take her part.

Two heart-rending letters from Mary herself, to her royal mother-in-law of France, follow. In the first, she implores assistance, or even the slightest show of assistance, from the French court; and goes on to say, "The miseries I endure are more than I once believed it was in the power of human sufferance to sustain, and live. Give credit to this messenger, who can tell you all. I have no opportunity to write, but while my jailers are at dinner," (p. 56). In the second, she assures Catherine, "that next to heaven she relies solely on her for assistance." It is superscribed, "To Madame the Queen of France, my mother-in-law. From my prison the last day of March."

Another of the Lochleven letters, dated on the same day, addressed by the captive queen to her faithful subject the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador at the court of France, will be found in this work (p. 60). It is deeply interesting, but very brief. She assures him that, "she has neither time nor paper to write more, unless to entreat the king, the queen, and her uncles, to burn her letters." The existence of those precious autographs, proves that the request of the royal captive was neglected. The last letter written by Mary at Lochleven is an agitated fragment addressed to the queen-mother of France, and is preserved in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg; a faithful translation will be found in this collection, vol. i. p. 64. It ends abruptly with these words:—

"I entreat you will give belief to this bearer, and hold me in your good graces, and pray to God that—"

Perhaps some sigh or sleeping motion of one of the maidens, from whose side she had stolen to write it, made her extinguish her taper and return to bed; or

perhaps the letter was cut short by a signal connected with her projected flight, for it is dated on the eve of her successful escape from Lochleven. She had previously made an abortive attempt to leave the castle in the disguise of the washerwoman, who came to take away her linen, on which occasion her real quality was betrayed by the beauty and delicacy of the hand she raised to draw the hood and muffler closer to her face, and she was carried back. A full detail of this adventure is given in the Appendix.

If Sir Walter Scott had been so fortunate as to have seen some of the letters in these volumes, which have been subsequently brought to light, he would have been able to improve the story of his fine historical romance of "The Abbot" in no slight degree, by a closer adherence to facts. George Douglas, who cuts so conspicuous a figure in that tale, was a gallant gentleman, about Mary's own age. He generously made the arrangement for her escape, but, on the failure of the first abortive attempt, fled, leaving a second more successful enterprise for her deliverance to be achieved by his orphan cousin, William, a boy of sixteen, who was known in the castle by the name of the little Douglas. This youth remained faithfully attached to Mary's adverse fortunes till her death; he received a pension from her, and is occasionally mentioned with great tenderness in her letters as "her orphan." In her will she calls him "Volly Douglas;" the letter W was evidently treated by Mary after the foreign fashion.

George Douglas was one of her most active paladins, and we find from her letters that he was constantly employed on perilous offices, such as conveying letters between the captive queen and her friends on the continent. She ever retained the most grateful sense of the services he had rendered her, and endeavoured by

every means in her power to advance his fortunes, and to promote his marriage with a young lady in France, to whom he became much attached. Finding that the poverty of George Douglas was the only obstacle, she generously tried to obviate it by the promise of a considerable pecuniary grant out of her own slender and embarrassed finances.

“I desire you,” writes she to the Archbishop of Glasgow, vol. i. p. 118, “to hasten the affair of Douglas, for I should be sorry to have it to be laid to my charge that so important a service, as that which he has rendered to me, should be ill rewarded—such services are not performed every day.” In another letter to the archbishop, vol. i. p. 132, she observes, “George tells me he cannot conclude the marriage he has so long contemplated with La Verrière, without being assured of the grant I made him;” and goes on to entreat the archbishop to take the management of the affair into his own hands, and to arrange for the payment of five-and-twenty thousand francs, which she had promised George, in any way that might be most satisfactory to the lady and her friends, even though, to secure this sum, he should be obliged to settle on disadvantageous terms the lawsuit which he had been for several years conducting for her in the French courts of law.

“Although,” continues she, “I must make a sacrifice to settle, yet must I give him what I have promised; endeavour, therefore, to get me out of this debt which the service he has rendered imposes on me.” She concludes the subject by saying, “I recommend to you the management of his matrimonial and other affairs.”

How different is this truly queenly and maternal care to secure the wedded happiness of her young follower from the anger and jealous ill-will manifested by Eliza-

beth, when any of her favourites presumed to enter into the holy pale of wedlock ! Let the reader compare the conduct of the two queens on this point, and judge which is most indicative of the feelings of a virtuous and noble-minded woman.

At pp. 62—3, the reader is presented with letters from Mary's base brother, the Regent Murray, to the queen-mother and the King of France, soliciting their friendship and alliance under the royal signature of James Stuart. These are from the autograph collection in the Imperial Library, and are curious as historical documents. Another letter from the same source, addressed by Mary's faithful servant, Lord Fleming, to the King of France, occurs p. 63, imploring succour for Dumbarton, which he was holding out for his royal mistress against the rebels. It is written with the plainness and manly spirit of a brave and loyal gentleman, who had determined, come what would, to perform his duty. His letter is dated April 24, 1568 ; but, on the news of Mary's escape from Lochleven, he and many other of the chivalrous nobles who espoused her cause hastened to rally round her person when she arrived at Hamilton ; and he was one of those who accompanied her on her fatal retreat into England.

A highly curious letter, written by the fugitive queen to Elizabeth from Dundrenan Abbey, with the present of a diamond, which she had formerly received from the faithless English sovereign, as a pledge of her promised friendship and assistance, appears vol. i. p. 66. It is followed by that letter which she wrote to Elizabeth from Workington (p. 67), apprizing her of her arrival in her dominions, giving a rapid sketch of the lawless conduct of her rebel lords, from their first confederacy against herself and her late husband, and the causes that had compelled her to take refuge in England, and

implores her succour against those cruel foes. "I entreat you," proceeds she, "to send to fetch me as soon as you possibly can, for I am in a pitiable condition, not only for a queen but for a gentlewoman, for I have nothing in the world but what I had on my person when I made my escape." (p. 70.)

Mary's eloquent supplications to Elizabeth for pity and succour were seconded with much earnestness by her royal mother-in-law, Catherine de Medicis, whose clever letter to the English queen (p. 71) contains a keen specimen of Italian sarcasm, but was certainly more calculated to provoke than to prevail with a princess of Elizabeth's haughty temper.

At page 74 occurs the translation of a brief agitated fragment of an autograph letter from the unfortunate Mary to her royal mother-in-law, which is derived from the Imperial Collection. It was written by Mary at Carlisle, May 28th, 1568, and she writes a supplicatory letter to Queen Elizabeth on the same day. (See p. 75.)

The letters written by Mary to Elizabeth, on her first arrival in England are better known than any other portion of the work, several of them having been published by Sir Henry Ellis, in his valuable collection of "Letters in Illustration of English History," but they are not the less interesting on that account, and it is of great importance to read them in chronological connexion with those that have hitherto been buried among the royal autographs in the Imperial Library. From this source we derive the beautiful letter addressed by her to Charles IX. (Carlisle, June 26, 1568), where, after expressing her fears "that the injustice of Elizabeth, or at least her council, is preparing for her a much longer sojourn in England than she could wish," (p. 85,) she informs her royal brother-in-law "that Lord Fleming had not been permitted to pass beyond London,

therefore she has despatched George Douglas, the present bearer, to inform his Majesty fully of all that had befallen her." She renders a deserved tribute to the generous self-devotion of that chivalric partizan, and recommends him and others of her faithful adherents, especially Lord Fleming, to the protection of King Charles. This letter, which supplies a broken link of the most interesting historical correspondence that ever was written, bears the same date as the preceding one to Queen Elizabeth. (p. 82.)

Another letter of eloquent remonstrance to Elizabeth follows (p. 87), dated July 5, which concludes the series of Mary's letters from Carlisle in this collection. Very touching records they are of the alternations in the royal fugitive's mind, during that momentous period of trembling hope, misgiving alarm, and agonizing suspense, in which she remained till her transfer to Bolton convinced her that she was not considered by Elizabeth as a sister sovereign and a guest, but treated as a prisoner and a culprit.

Her letters to Elizabeth, after her removal to Bolton, are colder and more reserved, and at times an indignant rising of her spirit breaks forth, with here and there a sarcastic flash of keen wit—but anon she yields once more to woman's weakness, and condescends to supplicate the inexorable arbitress of her fate for sympathy and succour.

At p. 100 appears the joint letter of the principal lords of the queen's party, who were still defending Dumbarton Castle in the name of their captive sovereign, to the queen-mother of France, followed by another to the young king, imploring succour, and detailing with honest indignation the injuries their queen had suffered from Murray and his confederates, whom they contemptuously

term "one Earl of Murray and a pack of traitors, (*ung tas de Traîtres*,) his accomplices;" (p. 102-3). The statement of these nobles, of which the original documents are in the Imperial Collection, affords sufficient evidence that Mary, far from having been abandoned by all her peers, and expelled from her dominions by the general act of her subjects, had still a powerful party among the ancient aristocracy and people of Scotland, and that she had been cut off in her retreat to Dumbarton by the able generalship of her allied enemies, Murray and Morton; and, being thus circumvented, and fearing to fall into their cruel hands once more, she decided on taking refuge in England, and, in an evil hour, threw herself upon the friendship and honour of her kinswoman, Queen Elizabeth.

It is certain that Lord Fleming had either made his escape from London, or obtained leave to proceed on his mission to France soon after; for, in August, 1568, his autograph appears among those of the associated chivalric peers, by whom these letters were signed, and of which the reader is presented with fac-similes.

Mary's letter to Elizabeth, of the 1st of September, 1568, vol. i., p. 105, is a most touching and eloquent appeal to the compassion of that queen. On the same day she writes to Sir Francis Knollys, and her letter to him is the first she attempted in English. The original is in vol. i. p. 105, and is a curious mixture of Lowland Scotch with the now obsolete English of that era. When rendered intelligible by modern version, it is, like all Mary's epistolary compositions, very *naïve* and pretty; and, above all, it betrays her determination of fascinating the grim commander of the north-west border, in her endeavour to propitiate him, not only in his own person, but by means of his better half, Lady Knollys.

The letter poor Mary took the trouble of writing to this stern soldier runs as follows, when rendered into plain orthography :

The Queen of Scots to Sir Francis Knollys.

“ Bolton, Sept. 1, 1569.”

“ Master Knollys,

“ I have some news from Scotland. I send you the *double* [copy] of them I writ to the queen [Elizabeth] my good sister, and *pres* [pray] you to do the like, conform[able] to that I spake [of] yesternight unto you, and send hasty answer.

“ I refer all to your discretion, and will *liane* [lean or rely] better on your good dealing for me than I can persuade you, namely, in this language. Excuse my evil writing, for I never used it before, and am *hestet* [hurried]. Ye shall see my bill [letter of news], which is open ; it is said, on Saturday, my *unfriends* [enemies] will be with you. I say nothing, but trust well.

“ An’ you send any [one] to your wife, ye may assure her, she would be welcome to a poor stranger, who, not well acquainted with her, will not be over-bold to write, but for the acquaintance betwixt us. [*That is between Queen Mary and Sir Francis Knollys.*] I will send you a little token [*some jewel or ring*] to remember you of the good hope I have in you ; and, if ye find a meet messenger, I would wish ye bestowed it on her [Lady Knollys] rather than any other.

“ Thus, after my commendations, I pray God have you in his keeping.

“ Your assured good friend,

“ MARIE R.

“ Excuse my evil writing this first time.”

Though nothing could be more hard and uncourteous than the conduct of Knollys to the captive queen, which is evident by his own letters, yet it is certain, from Mary's letter to Elizabeth, of October 8, 1568, that the latter had conceived a jealous displeasure on the subject of their intercourse, and that one of their conversations had been misrepresented, for Mary, after protesting "that, if Elizabeth herself had heard what passed between her and Master Knollys, she could not have taken it amiss," observes somewhat indignantly, in allusion to the notes that had been taken of what she had said, "that she did not expect to be copied." (p. 113.)

Mary's letter to her beloved sister-in-law, the Queen of Spain (vol. i. p. 109), with whom she had been educated, is a most interesting document, giving a brief and confidential account of her escape from Scotland, and the restraint to which she was subjected in her compulsory sojourn in the realm of her good sister, the Queen of England. This letter contains some tender allusions to their early friendship, and refers to the fact of their being educated together. Mary expresses, too, a fond wish that a marriage might take place between her son and one of the daughters of this queen by Philip II. It is doubtful whether her loving letter ever reached the royal friend, to whom so many endearing expressions are addressed, for it is dated 24th of September, 1568, and Elizabeth of France departed this life on the 3rd of October following.¹ Mary, in a letter to Don Francis de Alava (vol. i. p. 120), passionately laments her death, and also in one to the royal widower, at p. 122.

¹ This amiable and beautiful Queen of Spain, whom Schiller has taken for the heroine of his *Don Carlos*, was the sister of Mary's first husband, Francis II.

The conferences for the investigation of Mary's conduct by English and Scottish commissioners, opened October 4, 1568, and at p. 115, is given a curious specimen of the sort of cipher in which the correspondence between Mary and her ambassador, Leslie, Bishop of Ross, was carried on. It appears to have been intercepted, as it is indorsed in Cecil's hand.

At p. 128 appears the official declaration of the Earl of Murray touching the pretended proofs of Mary's connivance in the murder of her husband, Henry Darnley, which her enemies professed to have discovered in a silver casket, in the form of papers, letters, and sonnets, in her own handwriting.

The history of these papers, with specimens of such of the letters as it was possible to quote, will be found p. 129.

In addition to what has already been objected against the authenticity of these letters, one observation more may be ventured, which would probably have been considered by the great Lord Bacon¹ as conclusive—they are not in Mary Stuart's style, and they bear no resemblance in sentiment, construction, or language, to any of her epistolary compositions. Let any one compare them, for instance, with her love-letters to the Duke of Norfolk, and it will be apparent that they were

¹ It is a well-known fact, that Bacon once saved Hayward, the historian, from the infliction of the torture, to which Queen Elizabeth was desirous that he should be subjected, in order to make him confess whether he had not written a treasonable book, which had given her great offence. "Nay, madam," replied Bacon, "never rack his person but rack his style, for with your leave we will shut him up in prison, and leave him pen, ink, and paper, for his amusement; and, by the comparison of what he shall write with that book, we shall presently discover whether he be the real author."—*Birch's Memorials of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*.

not written by the same person, though ostensibly on similar subjects. Perhaps no sovereign in the world ever wrote so many letters as Mary Stuart, but of these, it must be remarked, that purity of thought and of expression is the pervading charm of all.

The dignified remonstrance (p. 149) with which Mary replies to the cruel and insulting letter addressed to her from Hampton Court, Dec. 21, 1568, by Queen Elizabeth, after having abruptly broken up the conferences which had been transferred from York to Westminster, concludes the series written at Bolton, where Mary was in the comparatively gentle keeping of the Lady Scrope, the sister of the Duke of Norfolk, whose romantic courtship of the captive queen commenced during that period. It was undoubtedly the discovery of their correspondence which induced Elizabeth to remove Mary to Tutbury, where she was placed under the harsh *surveillance* of the treacherous and unfeeling Countess of Shrewsbury and her time-serving husband. A sadder and more painful interest darkens over Mary's letters from that period. The pangs of hope deferred, combined with the baneful effect of the noxious air and other discomforts of her abode, began to produce sickness of body as well as of mind.

A series of very interesting letters, commencing with that addressed by Mary to Elizabeth, Feb. 10, 1569, (p. 150,) fill up the chasm of nearly ten months, which has hitherto appeared in the correspondence of the captive queen. These letters, with the exception of one from Mary to Catherine de Medicis (p. 154, which is from the autograph collection in the Imperial Library) are from the copies preserved in the despatches of the French ambassador, Monsieur de la Mothe Fenelon, and will be found valuable contributions to the personal history of both Mary and Elizabeth. They appear, in-

deed, to have escaped the research of historians and collectors of royal letters; and are now, for the first time, translated and placed in chronological order before the reader. They contain the expostulations of the unfortunate queen, at the constraint that was put upon her will, by her unjustifiable detention and deprivation of free communication with her own counsellors and friends, the unkind abridgment of her retinue, and the non-performance of any of the flattering promises with which she had been deluded. Then follow her anxious entreaties for succour, with piteous apologies to her inexorable kinswoman for importuning her with her sorrows; imploring liberty to pass into France, where she was still loved and honoured, or even to return to "the cold and faithless north," whence she had fled, in her sore distress, to encounter treatment in England, which, though attributable only to Queen Elizabeth and her council, has left a stain on the brightness of the English character. In reply to Mary's supplications and remonstrances, there are several new letters from Elizabeth, of the diplomatic and metaphorical character which marks the epistolary style of that queen. Her letter to the Queen of Scots (p. 176) is well worthy of attention.

In Mary's touching letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated Nov. 10, 1569, she excuses the badness of her writing on account of indisposition (p. 192), and, from that time, it is piteous to trace the progressive sufferings which indicate the breaking-up of her naturally fine constitution. On May 13, 1570, she speaks of her own sickness and that of her servants, and requests the Archbishop of Glasgow to send her a physician from France. She dates her epistle from Sheffield Castle, where she appears to have been under very stern restraint. She had at that time two secret candidates for

her hand—Don John of Austria, and the Duke of Norfolk—but had, fatally for the latter, decided in favour of him.

Mary's letters to La Mothe Fenelon are particularly interesting, and show that she was on terms of the most unreserved confidence with him. Portions of several of those letters were written in cipher; and in these she declares all her affairs and her most secret thoughts and projects with the trusting simplicity of a child. There is every reason to believe that La Mothe Fenelon took a generous interest in her fate, for he rarely, indeed, writes to either Charles IX. or to Catherine de Medicis without recommending the Scottish queen and her affairs to their attention, with expressions of the deepest commiseration for the situation of that unfortunate lady. It was through his agency that almost all Mary's letters were transmitted, not only to his own court, but to her friends and partisans in England and Scotland.

In an extract from one of his letters to the King of France (p. 192), he notices that, in the folding of one of his despatches, he had enclosed a little letter from the Queen of Scots, and adds, "I have now sent a copy, by which you may see the state of the said lady, and consult on the means of moving the heart of the Queen of England, if it be not too hard." He was constantly in the habit of remonstrating with Elizabeth on the subject of her royal captive, which elicited many a stormy burst of anger from that queen, as will be seen in the memoir of Elizabeth, in the 6th volume of the "Lives of the Queens of England."

The first group of Mary's letters, for which we are indebted to the despatches of La Mothe Fenelon in the year 1569, contain allusions to the romantic scheme for her deliverance, and her restoration to royal rank

and power, through the love and chivalry of the premier peer of England.

The series of Mary's love-letters to the Duke of Norfolk, commencing at page 196, are chiefly from the Cottonian and Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. They were written originally in cipher; this may account for some occasional obscurities in the sense, which was not always clearly understood by Elizabeth's decipherer—Phillips. They form, however, an important portion of the epistolary remains of Mary Stuart, and ought to be read by all persons who are interested in her history.

Another of Mary's inedited letters, in the Imperial Collection, occurs at page 209; it is addressed to her royal mother-in-law, Catherine de Medicis, and contains a tender allusion to the love she had borne to the husband of her youth, Francis II., which she calls on that princess to witness, and implores her to show the same care for her that every good mother would to a child of her own. This letter is dated April, 1570.

In July she writes a touching letter to her other mother-in-law, Margaret, Countess of Lenox, which will be found at page 222.

The conviction expressed by Mary in that letter, that her innocence of the crimes with which her enemies had branded her would one day become manifest to the mother of Darnley, was borne out by the event; and in her letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, (p. 7, vol. ii.,) in which she mentions the death of the countess, May 2, 1578, she says, "This good lady was, thanks to God, in very good correspondence with me these five or six years by-gone; and has confessed to me, by sending letters under her hand, which I carefully preserve, the injury which she did me by the unjust pursuits which she allowed to go out against me in her name, through

bad information ; but chiefly by the express orders of the Queen of England, the persuasion of her council."

These letters of the Countess of Lenox to her royal daughter-in-law, if not destroyed by those who took possession of Mary's papers and effects after her murder at Fotheringay Castle, will, it is hoped, one day add their evidence to the documentary proofs of her innocence of the death of Darnley.

In vol. i. p. 235, the reader is presented with a letter from Mary to the Bishop of Ross, not contained in either of the volumes of the first edition of this work. It was written during the imprisonment of the bishop, and, though brief, contains much information, true and false, as to what was going on, both for and against her. She mentions her expectation, that the King of France would send two thousand men to the assistance of her friends in Scotland, and her fears that Elizabeth was about to raise three thousand, to crush them, "with the intention, it is said," continues the captive queen, "by force or other means, of getting my son into her hands, and then afterwards to make away with my life. But if God be favourable to me (as I doubt not) I fear not that." A second additional letter (p. 239) is addressed by Mary to the secretary of her incarcerated ambassador, the Bishop of Ross, urging him to solicit the good offices of La Mothe Fenelon, the French ambassador, in his master's behalf. In the same page the reader is presented with another of Mary's inedited letters to Queen Elizabeth, translated now for the first time from the original autograph in the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, a transcript of which, together with a fac-simile tracing of the succeeding document, was kindly communicated by Henry Symonds, Esq., of Canonteign, Exeter.

In her letter to the archbishop, dated Sept. 18, 1571,

Mary appears chiefly occupied with spiritual subjects. She expresses her anxiety for the conversion of her faithful Protestant follower, John Gordon, to her own faith, and she exhorts the venerable prelate to act as a faithful servant of God and his country. "Solicit all the ambassadors and my relations," continues she, "to join you in interceding for me; and I pray God to grant his grace to you and patience to me. Ask the king to obtain for me a confessor, to administer the sacraments, in case God should call me by one way or other."

Mary believed herself, at that time, in the most imminent peril, in consequence of her implication with the Duke of Norfolk in the Rudolphi plot; and she was evidently aware of the fact, that Elizabeth had been strenuously urged by the leading members of her council to put her to death. No sign of fear, or feeling unworthy of the representative of the royal race of Stuart, however, is to be traced in the beautiful letter (p. 242) which she addresses to Elizabeth at this dark crisis. It is the letter not only of a meek Christian—mild, placable, and long-suffering, but also of a high-minded courageous woman, who shrinks not from stating plain facts, though she conveys them in the courteous language of a high-bred lady; so that, whatever the matter be, the manner shall be free from offence. It was the invariable custom of Mary Stuart to do this; and, although the coarseness of the times has been occasionally pleaded as an apology for the habitual profane expletives of Queen Elizabeth, who inherited Henry VIII.th's vulgar propensities of swearing and calling names, no instance of the kind can be produced in any of Mary's authenticated letters, or, though often purposely provoked to anger, in her conversation. "Do not believe," writes she to

Elizabeth, (in this very letter,) "that I flatter you, instead of speaking sincerely, through fear of being treated worse; for I can tell you, that if you think fit to leave me unheeded, you may render my life wretched, intolerable, and degraded, but not my mind." (p. 246.)

The anguish with which Mary received the news of the Duke of Norfolk's condemnation is related by Sir Ralph Sadler to Burleigh, p. 246. The taunting letter of Queen Elizabeth (p. 250) was no slight aggravation to the sufferings of mind and body which are so pathetically described by the royal victim, p. 251-2. At p. 261, the reader is presented with a curious statement explanatory of the law-suits and other vexations with which Mary was harassed, regarding her dowry in France and the property which she derived from her mother. She complains bitterly to her chancellor, Duvergier, of the fraudulent manner in which she had been treated, of the dishonesty of the lawyers employed in her cause, and points out the shameless discrepancies in the accounts that had been submitted to her. Even her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, had taken advantage of her entire helplessness, to do many things prejudicial to her interest in a pecuniary way; but of this Mary speaks in sorrow rather than in anger, adding that, "for the reverence she bears him, she will not find fault."

No one can read her statements of the mismanagement of her affairs, the expenses, perplexities, and annoyances in which she was involved, without feelings of compassion. This paper is dated April, 1574. Her letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, p. 276, written nine days afterwards, on the same subject, indicates that her patience was on the wane. It is doubtful whether that of Job would have stood the test of entering into such schedules as

had recently been submitted to the royal prisoner at Sheffield, during the indisposition of her secretary, which compelled her to take the whole labour of the business upon herself. Some of her remarks are very *naïve*, and occasionally shrewd and sarcastic. On the whole, it is surprising to observe how clear and intelligent a view she takes of matters which, from their complicated nature, must have been perplexing to any lady, much more to a queen, who had been accustomed to have proper officers to arrange her accounts.

After the transient cloud of her displeasure passes away, she enters very earnestly with the archbishop into the cause of her vexation at the deficiencies in her revenues from France, namely, her desire that the wages of her servants should be punctually paid. Her anxiety that their services to her should be properly rewarded is truly conscientious (see p. 281.) Gratitude and benevolence are leading traits in the character of Mary Stuart; and, when the sources of her queenly munificence are circumscribed, she laments it, not on her own account, but for the sake of those to whom she was accustomed to dispense her bounty, and endeavours to assist them by means of her personal influence.

“I recommend to you,” she writes to the archbishop, “my two orphans, Annibal¹ and William Douglas, as you would wish me to do for those in whom you are interested.” At the time of writing this letter, Mary was under some apprehensions that there was a design of poisoning her, and she requests that “a bit of fine unicorn’s horn may be sent her, as she is in great need of it;” that being considered a repellent to any deadly drug, which might be infused into drink. It was usual

¹ Annibal Stonard, a youth of French parentage. He is mentioned in Mary’s will, and was present at her obsequies.

for a piece of this substance to be inserted in the golden drinking-cups of kings and queens.

Mary's next letter is to Queen Elizabeth, and expresses her satisfaction that her majesty had appeared gratified by the present of a piece of her work, which she had sent her, and also that she had been pleased to accept some sweetmeats, telling her, with great simplicity, "that she was then writing to her chancellor, Duvergier, to send her a better supply, of which she hopes Elizabeth will do her the honour to partake."

Mary's next letters are of a more cheerful character; she had been at the baths at Buxton, and the benefit which her health and spirits had derived from the change of air and scene is very perceptible in the tone of her correspondence—vol. i., p. 285. She requests the Archbishop of Glasgow to procure for her some turtledoves and Barbary fowls, and also some red partridges, with instructions how to manage them. "I shall take great pleasure," she says, "in rearing them in cages, as I do all sorts of little birds I can meet with. This will be amusement for a prisoner."

There is this attractive feature in all the letters of Mary Queen of Scots—they are full of domestic traits and the natural feelings of her heart. Trifles from her pen assume a grace, and delight us, from the unaffected simplicity with which she writes. Then, too, it is impossible to forbear smiling at the feminine earnestness with which, amidst all her troubles and bitter mortifications, she requests grave ambassadors and learned ecclesiastics to procure for her patterns of dresses, silks, the handsomest and rarest that are worn at Paris; new fashions of head-dresses from Italy, and veils and ribbons of gold and silver (see vol. i., p. 288). Again, at p. 296, she says, "If M. the Cardinal de Guise, my

uncle, is gone to Lyons, I am sure he will send me a couple of pretty little dogs ; and you must buy me two more, for, besides writing and work, I take pleasure only in all the little animals that I can get. You must send them in baskets, that they may be kept very warm." In the same letter Mary begs to be remembered to the King of Navarre, afterwards Henry the Great.

One of the most beautiful letters in this collection occurs vol. i., p. 299 ; it is written by the unfortunate queen to the Archbishop of Glasgow, on the death of her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and affords a touching example of Christian resignation under the most poignant affliction. "Though," says she, "I cannot, at the first moment, command my feelings, or restrain the tears that will flow, yet my long adversity has taught me to hope for consolation for all my afflictions in a better life."

The letters which Mary Stuart wrote in prison, in sickness and in sorrow, contain, indeed, abundant evidences, that, amidst all the trials which were laid upon her, her heart was at peace with God, and reposing itself in the sure refuge of a Saviour's love.

At p. 303, is a fragment of a most important letter from this much calumniated queen, stating, "that she had received intelligence of the death of the Earl of Bothwell, and that he had, before he died, made an ample confession of his sins, owning himself to be guilty of the death of the late king, her husband, and in terms most expressive declaring her innocent thereof." The truth of this report she appears most anxious to ascertain.

The succeeding document (page 304) proves that Queen Mary had been correctly informed as to the fact, since it is neither more nor less than the Deathbed Confession of Bothwell. As far as the testimony of

that great state criminal, thus hovering on the awful isthmus which separates time from eternity, may be depended on, it most completely clears Mary from having the slightest concern in the murder of her second husband, the unfortunate Darnley. This paper deserves the reader's attention more particularly, because, though it was mentioned by Sinclair in his MS. History of Scotland (which was written at the time, but remained locked up among the MSS. in the Scotch College at Paris) the evidence of such a document was certainly unknown to the writers, who have been in later times most decided in charging Mary with a crime, which, at the utmost, rests only on the deceptive foundation of presumptive evidence.

What motive, it may be asked, could Bothwell have in the hour of death, and with a fearful expectation of appearing instantly before his offended God, of loading his already burdened conscience with gratuitous perjury? No friend, no advocate of Mary was at hand to plead her cause to him—no zealous Catholic to persuade him to clear her fame at the expense of his own. He was a Protestant, and surrounded with Protestants, when this decisive testimony of Mary's innocence was made by him, being then a prisoner in Denmark, at the castle of Malmoe. The original manuscript is in the archives of Denmark, of which the document printed in this collection, is an abstract. According to Sinclair, a copy of Bothwell's Confession was sent by the King of Denmark to Queen Elizabeth, but she suppressed it. Bothwell, before his death, confessed his own share in the murder, solemnly protesting that it was perpetrated through the counsels of Murray and Morton, and that the queen was wholly innocent of it, having no knowledge of their intention. This confession was not only sent to Queen Elizabeth, but brought as evidence

against Morton at his trial for the murder of Darnley ; therefore it must have been regarded as worthy of credence : and, if so for the object of criminating one of the accomplices, why not equally effective for the justification of the person on whom the guilt had been charged by the actual culprits ? Bothwell's first declaration (p. 307) was made January 13th, 1568, to which he added a supplement, called his second declaration ; his last confession was made in the presence of the Bishop of Sconen and four of the Danish lords, just before he breathed his last, in the year 1576.

There are no allusions to her third widowhood in any of Queen Mary's letters ; and she seems, from the moment she was relieved from the terror of Bothwell's presence in Scotland, to have resolved on treating her marriage with him as a nullity—a line of policy, which was probably suggested to her by the examples of her grandmother, Margaret Tudor, and her uncle, Henry VIII., but in her case far more excusable, as she owed neither duty nor allegiance to her ravisher.

The second volume of the new edition of the Letters of Mary Queen of Scots opens with the correspondence of the year 1577, dated from Sheffield. The first is addressed to the Archbishop of Glasgow, touching the marriage of some young lady, whom she calls, “our adopted daughter.” This is followed by several pretty familiar letters to her French cousins and early friends, the Duchesses of Nevers and Nemours, and the Duc de Nemours. At page 7, is her letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, before alluded to, on the death of Darnley's mother, the Countess of Lenox.

The first of three very interesting letters from Mary, to her uncle, Cardinal Louis de Guise, dated Sheffield, occurs vol. ii. p. 11. In the second of these, she tells him “that all her letters” (meaning, of course, all that

she had recently written) "had passed through the hands of Walsingham, excepting one or two, to the King of France, the queen-mother, and her cousin of Guise, which contain only kind recommendations to her ambassador, and to her friends and relations, with requests for the prayers of her grandmother, who does not make much disturbance in the world."*

In this letter she notices her distress for money, and intimates that "she and her servants shall be very badly off that Lent, if some be not sent." (p. 14.)

The third (p. 15) bears testimony to her increased indisposition and the difficulty she experienced in writing. In her next letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, she requests him to send another physician, "one who is not a deceiver." (p. 18.) She writes to him again, August 10, 1579, from Buxton (p. 20), and alludes to a severe fall she had had, in mounting her horse. The Earl of Shrewsbury was the person through whose carelessness the accident occurred, and he mentions the injury the unfortunate queen received, with unwonted sympathy, in one of his letters printed in Lodge's "Illustrations."

Her letters to Mauvissière, the French ambassador, in the year 1581, 2, evince the natural depression of spirits, caused by increasing illness, and the painful restraints of her captivity at Sheffield. That to Elizabeth (vol. i. p. 39) was written when her agitation, on hearing the rumour (perhaps purposely conveyed to her) that the traitorous enterprise of the Earl of Gowry to seize the person of her son had been successful, occa-

* This venerable lady, Antoniette de Bourbon, widow of Charles de Lorraine, the first Duke of Guise, was the mother of the consort of James V. of Scotland, Mary of Lorraine, Duchess Dowager of Longueville, whom she survived many years. She lived to witness the troubles of her royal grand-daughter Mary Queen of Scots, who appears to have been much attached to her, and makes frequent mention of her in the letters published in these volumes.

sioned so dangerous a fit of sickness, that her life was despaired of by the English physicians who reported her case to their queen. The last energies of sinking nature appear summoned by Mary, while penning this eloquent appeal to the conscience of Elizabeth, whom she upbraids with the treachery of her conduct towards her, in stirring up troubles against her in Scotland, and the breach of faith of which she had been guilty, in making her a prisoner when, with a blind confidence in her professions and promises, she came to throw herself upon her protection.

She reproaches her with the cruelty of her treatment, telling her that she had destroyed her body by it, "so that nothing is left of me," she says, "but the soul, which, with all your power, you cannot make captive." Mary then pathetically entreats that liberty may be granted to her, to pursue the means which she judged needful for her salvation, "especially, that she may have the consolation of some honest churchman of her own faith, to prepare her for the change that awaits her." She also requests, that she may have two bed-chamber women to attend upon her, during her sickness. She reminds Elizabeth of the nearness of their consanguinity, and implores her to desist from fomenting the troubles in her son's dominions, and asks her what advantage and honour she can hope to derive from keeping her and her son apart; and, in conclusion, expresses a fervent desire "that a general reconciliation may be effected before she dies, that her soul, when released from her body, may not be constrained to make its lamentations to God, for the wrongs with which Elizabeth had caused her to be afflicted on earth." This touching letter is dated at "Sheffield, Nov. 8, 1582," and signed

"Your very disconsolate nearest kinswoman,
"and affectionate cousin, **MARY R.**"

At page 54 is one of the reports of the French ambassador, M. Mauvissière, to Henry III., detailing his diplomatic conversations with Queen Elizabeth on the line of policy she was adopting, with regard to France, and the subject of Mary Queen of Scots, "whose name," he observes, "appears to give her great vexation." This is followed by a letter from Mary to Mauvissière, on the liberation of her son, p. 64. At p. 66, and p. 75, the reader is again presented with the reports of Mauvissière to his sovereign, in which will be found amusing details of his interviews with Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1583. It is one of the characteristic features of Mauvissière's correspondence that he never omits an opportunity of reminding his needy sovereign of the sums which he was indebted to him, and soliciting for a reimbursement, not forgetting to represent to his majesty the superior generosity of the kings of Spain and Scotland, and even the parsimonious Queen of England, to their representatives in foreign courts.

At p. 85, occurs a beautiful and loving letter to her god-daughter, the child of M. de Mauvissière, the French ambassador, who had succeeded La Mothe Fenelon at the court of Queen Elizabeth. There are several letters of great importance in this collection from Mary to that statesman. In the first (p. 86) she indignantly adverts to the scandalous imputations the Countess of Shrewsbury had thrown upon her reputation, and entreats him to use his influence to have the promulgators punished. She there, and more especially in another letter to this ambassador (at p. 95), unveils the intrigues of the Countess of Shrewsbury, to supplant her and her son in the succession, in favour of the countess's infant granddaughter, Lady Arabella Stuart.

The letter from Mary to Mauvissière (p. 107), among

other matters, notices a report touching a marriage between herself and Philip II. of Spain, which seems to cause her some surprise. She tells the ambassador "that she commits all her secret despatches to his care, and that he is to charge the expenses he may incur in forwarding them in his accounts against her, under the head of gold and silver thread (p. 110) for her embroidery." It was in this pursuit that the royal captive passed all the time she was not employed in writing, or confined to her bed with the agonizing attacks of rheumatic gout, so often alluded to in her letters, under the now obsolete name, of "defluxions." In the present age, the bodily sufferings, which had been caused by distress of mind, combined with cold and want of exercise, would have been termed neuralgia.

The letters from Mary to Mauvissière in March, 1585, are very confidential, and throw considerable light on the private affairs and feelings of the captive queen, at that dreary period of her life. They were written from her gloomy prison at Tutbury; and that at page 141 bespeaks the agonizing state of excitement under which it was penned. Cut off, as she was, and had been for many years, from confidential correspondence with her son, she had been led to believe, by their mutual enemies, that he was acting a base and unnatural part towards her, which will be fully explained by the letters and marginal notes.

Mary's name had not been included in the general treaty, that one of the chief law-officers in Scotland came to England to conclude between the young King James, Queen Elizabeth, and the Court of France; this the fallen queen regarded as an unpardonable disrespect on the part of her son; and, as if the omission of recognizing her, from whom his royal dignity as the sovereign of Scotland was derived, were not sufficiently painful,

some one had cruelly told her, "that her son had sent word to her, that the reason he could not join with her in that treaty was because she was held captive in a desert" (p. 143). This was the additional drop of gall, it seems, which made the already brimming cup of bitterness overflow. The patience of the long-suffering victim, sick alike in mind and body, gave way. She was wounded in the tenderest part and from the dearest quarter; and, without pausing to inquire how far her son was accountable for the insult that had been aimed at her, she calls on Heaven and earth to attest her wrongs, and appeals even to her deadliest foe—to Elizabeth herself—for sympathy and redress. She complains to her of the unnatural conduct, the cruel ingratitude, of her son, and implores her to interpose, with the authority of a godmother, to teach him his duty better. It is difficult to believe that Mary was in a state of perfect sanity, when she penned such a letter to Elizabeth (p. 146), which must have been prompted by a similar impetus of the brain to that which impels the human frame to self-destruction under the pressure of intolerable misery. Indeed, her sufferings of mind and body, added to the constant state of irritation in which she was purposely kept by her pitiless tormentors, were sufficient to have unsettled the reason of any sensitive female. Let the reader refer to her statement of the cruel treatment (pp. 153, 4, 5), and, indeed, during the last fifteen years of her incarceration, and judge of the irritability, mental and physical, which it was calculated to produce, and the only wonder will be that, instead of writing one or two angry letters, all her correspondence was not in the same tone. Maternal resentment was, however, but a transient cloud with Mary, and in her letter to M. D'Esneval, the new French ambassador to the court of Scotland (p. 171), she speaks with tender soli-

citude of her son, and begs to be informed, from time to time, of his health and welfare, observing, "that her extreme affection as a mother has never failed towards him, though his bad ministers had rendered him forgetful of her sufferings."

D'Esneval employed the only painter in Edinburgh to copy a portrait of the young king, at the desire of the captive mother, whose longing eyes had never been destined to look upon her only child, since she went to see him, nineteen years before, at Stirling, where he was nursed. It was on her return from that ill-starred journey that she was seized and carried off by Bothwell, from which all her subsequent calamities proceeded.

It is impossible to read without the deepest compassion the letter p. 160, in which she details to Mauvissière and his successor Chasteauneuf the sufferings she endured in the damp dilapidated apartments, to which she was confined after her return to Tutbury Castle. These she describes with sarcastic bitterness, and, after alluding to the systematic barbarity with which all her wishes were opposed, and ever had been, she says, "The Countess of Shrewsbury assured me that the right way to cause anything whatever to be denied me was to signify that it would be particularly agreeable to me, and then I must never expect to have it."

Her next letter is dated from Chartley Castle, in Staffordshire, Mauvissière having obtained, as a parting boon from Elizabeth, that the Queen Dowager of France, the kinswoman of his sovereign, should be removed from the detested prison of Tutbury to a better air. The change was beneficial to the royal sufferer. She writes to Mauvissière, p. 171, "Since the commencement of February, I have suffered greatly from defluxions, but have kept mending since the departure of Cherelles so that only this defluxion of my right arm is now left,

it is an inheritance acquired by seventeen years imprisonment, which I fear will never end but with my life. Meanwhile, I pray God to grant me the necessary patience!" This is dated the last day of March, 1586.

Three very curious letters to Don Bernard de Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador at the Court of France, p. 174, were copied by Prince Labanoff, from the archives of Simança, and are translated from his collection printed at Paris, in 1839. They throw considerable light on the intrigues that were used to implicate Mary in the Babington plot. The last, dated August 2nd, was written just six days before Sir Amias Paulet removed the reluctant queen to Tixal, and took possession of her jewels and papers.

The letter from Lord Burleigh to Secretary Davison (p. 181), conducts the reader to the period of Mary's mock trial at Fotheringay, when, "this queen of the castle," as she is styled, with pitiless facetiousness, by the cold-hearted statesman, had appeared for the last time before the commissioners selected by Elizabeth for the consummation of the tragedy.

The earnest agitated letter of James I. to his treacherous ambassador at the Court of London at this period (p. 184), is worthy of attention, for seldom have that prince's filial exertions to preserve his mother's life been recorded in the way they merit.

The report of the two French ambassadors, Bellievre and Chasteauneuf, to their sovereign, Henry III., of their interviews with Queen Elizabeth, in the vain attempt of prevailing upon her to relinquish her intention of putting the Queen of Scots to death (p. 192), is a document of great interest, detailing in the most lively and graphic manner the demeanour of that queen. Her petulant language, and the circumstance of raising her voice, during their private conference, so loud as to

be heard all over the presence-chamber, and even by the yeomen of her guard, are recorded with sly minuteness by those two nobles; not forgetting her coquettish allusion, in the midst of her anger, to her former rejection of the addresses of Philip II. of Spain, as if that were the only cause of his hostility. This letter sufficiently refutes the unfounded assertions of some historians, that Henry III. had no wish to avert the doom of his hapless sister-in-law, and affords abundant evidence of the earnest endeavours made by his accredited representatives for that purpose, and of the great commiseration with which those gentlemen regarded her situation. From this letter we learn that, immediately after the sentence of death was announced to Mary, at Fotheringay, by Lord Buckhurst, the authorities there not only took away her dais, but were guilty of the needless cruelty of hanging her chamber and her bed with black, (p. 199); thus in a manner compelling the royal victim to sleep in her hearse every night, for three months before her mangled form was laid there, bleeding from the headsman's axe.

A farewell letter (p. 186, vol. ii.) is addressed by Mary to Mendoza, from Fotheringay Castle, after Lord Buckhurst and Mr. Beal had announced to her that sentence of death had been pronounced against her. Few fictitious compositions can raise in the mind of the reader more dolorous images than Mary's plain recapitulation of the actual facts going on around her. "Yesterday," she writes, "they took down my canopy, saying 'that I was no more than a dead woman, and without any rank.' They are, at present, working in my hall—erecting the scaffold, I suppose, whereon I am to perform the last act of this tragedy."

But not so promptly was the *coup de grace* to be dealt to the royal victim, who was doomed to take a

lengthened draught of the bitterness of death during the three gloomy months that intervened between the publication of her sentence and its execution. Her letter to Mendoça, which is dated Nov. 23rd, 1586, was written under the impression that she should be summoned to the scaffold in a few hours. She bequeaths to Mendoça a legacy of peculiar interest in these words, p. 188 :

“ You will receive from me, as a token of my remembrance, a diamond, which I have held very dear, having been given me by the late Duke of Norfolk, as a pledge of his troth, and I have always worn it as such. Keep it for my sake.”

In this letter Mary mentions the conditional bequest which, in her enthusiastic zeal for the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland, she had made of her dominions to Philip II. of Spain. Her tender consideration for her poor servants, and the earnestness with which she recommends them to the care and protection of her friends, are more in accordance with the general tenor of Mary's feelings than the foolish notion, that she was rendering a service to persons of her own religion by an attempt to alienate the inheritance of her realm from its rightful possessor, and that possessor her only son, in favour of a foreign monarch, whose bigotry and cruelty had alienated the hearts of a large portion of his natural subjects.

Her adieu to her cousin, the Duc de Guise (p. 189), yields to nothing she had indited in touching interest, beauty of sentiment, and eloquence of expression. It is characteristic of the feelings of a queenly heroine, who considers that she is about to exchange her earthly diadem for the crown of martyrdom, and fondly deems that the sufferings which have been heaped upon her, and the trials and indignities through which she has yet to pass,

will render her palm the brighter. "And though," continues she, "executioner never yet dipped his hand in our blood, be not ashamed, my friend, for the judgment of these heretics and enemies of the church, who have no jurisdiction over me, a free queen, is profitable before God to the children of his church, which, had I not adhered to, this stroke had been spared me." It was natural that Mary, in the excited state of feeling under which these letters were penned, should have derived consolation from this idea; but, even if she had been disposed to embrace the protestant faith, it would have availed her nothing; for, like her cousin, Lady Jane Gray, she must be regarded not as a religious but a political victim.

The last and noblest letter written by Mary to Elizabeth (p. 200), Dec. 19th, 1586, the day after the sentence of death had been announced to her by Lord Buckhurst, has never before been translated, as a whole, from the original French, although portions, from Camden's Latin abstract, have been quoted by some historians. Mary unconsciously falls into the classic language of *Polyxena*,* while preferring her request to Elizabeth "that her body may be delivered to her poor desolated servants, to be laid in holy ground with the other queens of France, her predecessors," especially near the late Queen of Scotland, her mother:—"Refuse me not my last request, that you will permit free sepulchre to this body when the soul is separated; and, after all is over, that they (her servants) together may carry away my

- * "And if my dying accents you will hear,
And hearing, grant this last, this little prayer,
No slave, but Priam's daughter, I implore
You to my mother would my corse restore,
Freely restore, and let me not be sold,
Or rites of burial be exchanged for gold."

poor corpse as secretly as you please, and speedily withdraw.”—(p. 203.)

This beautiful and touching letter concludes with a sentence which is worthy of being engraved on every heart: “From the first days of our capacity to comprehend our duties, we ought to bend our minds to make the things of this world yield to those of eternity.”

“The perusal of this letter,” as Leicester informed Walsingham, “drew tears from Elizabeth;” but how far it proceeded in the way of softening her heart, or those of the pitiless junta by whom she was urged to carry the deadly work through, let the startling correspondence between Walsingham, Davison, and Sir Amias Paulet testify (see pp. 229—231), and also Elizabeth’s letter to the latter (p. 228).

Mary’s worst pang in laying her head on the block was distrust of her son, which he was very far from deserving, witness his letter, written in defiance of all consequences to the formidable Elizabeth, and now, for the first time, placed in intelligible language before the public (p. 230).

One of the letters written by Mary Stuart on the evening before her execution will be found in this volume (p. 243); it was addressed by her to De Préau, her almoner, when denied the consolation of receiving the last rites of her church from him, her spiritual director, or even of seeing him, though he was under the same roof; she requests him “to advise her for her soul’s health in writing,” and tells him, withal, that all her petitions had been denied, even that concerning the disposal of her lifeless remains.

At page 252 will be found a contemporary narrative of the last hours of her life, as transmitted by the French ambassador to Henry III. It contains various incidents not mentioned in any other account, and is evi-

dently written by a foreigner, who was a spectator of the tragedy; perhaps some one employed by the French envoys for that purpose. Another record of the courageous and lofty spirit with which Mary Stuart met her doom is given from no friendly pen, but with graphic minuteness, in a letter from Richard Wignmore to Lord Burleigh. Some additional details are contained in the despatches of Chasteauneuf, p. 251). There is also the letter in which Queen Elizabeth insults the son of her victim with her condolences, and, shrinking with shame and vain remorse from her own deed, forswears it.

There are, in this volume, two accounts of the funeral of Mary Queen of Scots. The first p. 313 is translated from a contemporary record, supposed to have been written by one of the surviving members of her household; the other, which has been published in the first volume of the *Archæologia*, is evidently a transcript from a herald's journal, in one of the books of royal funerals in the College of Arms.

The extract from the evidence of Frederick Devon, Esq., before the House of Lords, on the destruction and sale of the Exchequer documents (p. 327, while it furnishes various particulars of the scanty allowances made by Elizabeth to the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir Amias Paulet, for the maintenance of the captive queen, proves also that a portion of those mouldering records has risen up from the dust and darkness of ages, to expose secret-service money paid to Nau, and the deception that was practised in the farce of Davison's disgrace.

In the Appendix, which forms the concluding portion of the second volume of this collection, will be found a series of historical letters, state papers, and extracts, calculated to explain and elucidate more fully the

foregoing documents. These contain details of the most remarkable scenes in the eventful career of this ill-fated queen from her return to Scotland. There are also the narratives of her imprisonment at Lochleven Castle, and her escape to fulfil her dark destiny, after eighteen years of dolorous captivity in England; with contemporary details of her demeanour during her sojourn at Carlisle, and of her transfer from one stern fortress and pitiless castellan to another, each more cruel than the last, till her mangled body was consigned to the gloomy vault in Peterborough Cathedral, near the remains of another victim of a Tudor sovereign, the broken-hearted Katharine of Arragon, whence it was finally removed by her son, James I., to receive royal sepulture in Westminster Abbey, in close proximity to the sumptuous monument of her destroyer, Queen Elizabeth.

With regard to Mary's letters, it may be observed, in conclusion, that her most confidential communications not only bear the test of deciphering, but furnish evidences in her favour, when thus exposed to open view. She discusses the possibility to escape, it is true; and she implores her royal kindred of France and Spain, if they cannot obtain her liberation by their intercession with the Queen of England, to use menaces, and, if they are not regarded, to send an armed force for her rescue: and who, in her situation, would not have done the same? She complains to her far distant friends of the cruelty of her foes; but she neither reviles the authors of her sufferings, nor expresses a desire of vengeance. In a word, the more we search into documentary evidence, the fairer does the character of Mary Stuart appear; and it may be truly asserted that there is not, in any of the numerous letters that can be strictly authenticated as her own, an instance in which she forgets the cha-

racter of the Christian and the gentlewoman. With regard to her religious opinions, they were of course opposed on many points to those of the reformed church: yet her son, James I., who was a zealous literary champion of the Protestant faith, according to the articles and tenets set forth in our own liturgy, affords the following testimony of the liberality of her sentiments on that subject:—

“ And for the queen my mother, of worthy memory, although she continued in the religion in which she was nourished, yet was she far from being superstitious or *jesuited* therein. And for proof that that renowned queen, my mother, was not superstitious, in all her letters (whereof I received many) she never made mention of her religion, nor laboured to persuade me in it, so with her last words she commanded her master-household (*maitre d'hôtel*), a Scottish gentleman and my servant, yet alive, (Sir Andrew Melville,)—she commanded him, I say, to tell me, ‘ That although she was of another religion than that wherein I was brought up, yet she would not press me to change, unless my own conscience forced me to it, for so that I led a good life, were careful to do justice and govern well, she doubted not but I would be in a good case (even) with the profession of mine own religion.’ ”*

* King James the First's Work, “ Premonition to all Christian Monarchs,” p. 294.

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LETTERS

OF

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

IN order to enable the reader the better to appreciate the circumstances under which the following letters were written, it has been thought desirable to lay before him, in chronological succession, a brief recapitulation of the principal events in the life of the unfortunate Mary Stuart.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

*of the principal Events in the Life of Mary, Queen of Scots.*¹

1542. *December* 5. Birth of Mary Stuart, daughter of James V., King of Scotland, and Mary de Guise, Dowager Duchess of Longueville.

¹ In this abridged chronology, all the dates are according to the old style; thus, as far as the article October 5th, 1582, there must be added ten days to the date specified, to make it accord with the new style. In the dates of the letters the discrepancies of the style are marked as far as possible, at least as to the *anno domini* in the spring quarter of the year. It may be taken for a rule, that Mary, when writing to France, or to French persons, uses the new style, but the English writers invariably use the old style.

December 13. James V. dies, and is succeeded by Mary Stuart, aged eight days.

December 22. James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, the nearest heir to the queen, is declared Regent of Scotland.

1543. *July 1.* The regent concludes a treaty with Henry VIII., King of England, by which Mary Stuart is to be sent, when ten years of age, to England, to be afterwards married to Edward, son of that prince.

September 16. Coronation of the Queen of Scotland.

December 3. The Scotch parliament declares null the last treaty made with Henry VIII.

1544. *May 4.* The English troops enter Scotland under the command of the Earl of Hertford, and the war continues for two years.

1546. *June 7.* Scotland is included in the treaty of peace signed between England and France.

1547. *January 28.* Death of Henry VIII. His son, Edward VI., then ten years of age, succeeds him, and the Earl of Hertford, created Duke of Somerset, is appointed Protector of the kingdom.

March 31. Francis I., King of France, dies, and is succeeded by his son, Henry II.

1548. *February.* The Duke of Somerset publishes an address to the people of Scotland, to prove to them the advantages of the projected marriage between Edward VI. and Mary Stuart. At the same time, he sends Lord Grey de Wilton with an army, which takes Haddington, and leaves an English garrison there.

February 8. The Scotch lords assemble at Stirling, decide upon offering Mary Stuart in marriage with the Dauphin of France, and propose that she should be educated at the court of Henry II.

June 16. The French fleet disembark five thousand troops at Leith; d'Esse, who commands them, immediately commences the siege of Haddington, aided by eight thousand Scotch.

July —. M. Dessoles, ambassador of France, obtains the ratification of the projected marriage between Mary Stuart and the Dauphin, son of Henry II., by the three estates of the kingdom of Scotland.

August. Labrosse and Villegaignon, who command the French fleet, receive on board the Queen of Scotland and her mother.

August 13. Mary Stuart disembarks at Brest. She is immediately conducted to St. Germain en Laye, and affianced to the Dauphin.

1551. *October 22.* Her mother, Mary, Dowager Queen of Scotland, returns to Edinburgh, and assumes the regency.

1553, *July 6.* Edward VI. dies ; Mary, his sister, succeeds him, and re-establishes the Catholic religion in England.

1554. *July 25.* Mary, Queen of England, marries Philip, son of the emperor, Charles V.

1556. ——— Charles V. abdicates the throne, and leaves his Spanish dominions to his son, Philip II., and the empire to his brother, Ferdinand I., whom he had caused to be elected King of the Romans.

1558. *April 4.* Mary Stuart assigns at Fontainebleau, to the King of France and to his successors, the kingdom of Scotland, and all her rights to the throne of England, in case of her decease without issue.

April 24. Marriage of Mary Stuart to the Dauphin, who is immediately styled King of Scotland.

November 17. Death of Mary, Queen of England. Her sister Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, succeeds her.

1559. *January 15.* Elizabeth is crowned at Westminster by the Bishop of Carlisle, with all the rites of the Catholic Church.

March —. The English parliament abolishes the statutes passed under the preceding reign, in favour of the Catholic, and re-establishes the Protestant religion.

*The Queen of Scots to the Constable de Montmorency,*¹
(Supposed) 1558 or 1559.

To my *Compère* Monsieur le Connestable.

My *compère*,—I have just heard that the son of Secondat has presented a request to the council, which would prevent the king my husband and myself from

¹ The contents of this letter evidently prove that it was written during the lifetime of Henry II., and subsequently to the marriage of Mary Stuart with the Dauphin : that is to say, not earlier than April 1558, nor later than July 1559. It is addressed to that noted warrior, the old Constable Anne de Montmorency, the hero of a hundred fights. He was subsequently killed, in his eightieth year, at the battle of St. Denis, where he repulsed the Huguenots, who were about to attack the French capital. He was the godson of the celebrated Anne of Bretagne, first queen of Louis XII., who

having what the king gave to us; and for this reason I now write a few words to you by Ronqueroles, who will inform you how our affairs are proceeding, and what it is necessary that you should do for us; as I am certain you will cheerfully do anything to please the only persons who will not prove ungrateful. I request you, then, my *compère*, to lend a hand, and say to the king that I am trying to get this money for the purpose of entertaining him in a house arranged for him in the way that he recommended to me. He did me the honour, the other evening, without my having alluded to the subject, to inform me that the Queen of Navarre¹ had written to him about it, but that he had not forgotten us. Finding him so well disposed, I am sure that he will give the order. I pray God, my *compère*, that he will give you a good night.

Your good cousin,

MARY.

held him in her arms at the baptismal font, and gave him the feminine name of Anne, a singular appellation for so fierce a warrior. The anecdote relating to his last moments proves that he fought against the Huguenots rather as insurgents than out of any ultra zeal for the established religion; for, while dying of his wounds, a capuchin approached to offer him the consolations of religion. "Away," was the reply of the dying warrior; "a man who has fought in a hundred fights knows how to die for a quarter of an hour without your help." This speech has been admired more than it deserves, for, as bloodshed is not the best preparation for death, and the valiant Constable was certainly not a Huguenot, since he fell while battling against them; and as he refused the rites of the Catholic Church, a doubt may reasonably exist whether he was a believer in any religion. It has been said, that this hero could neither read nor write; these letters lead us to suppose that such assertion is erroneous, since Mary would scarcely have written familiar notes to a man who could not read them.

¹ Joanna d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, by inheritance from her father, Henry King of Navarre. She was mother to Henry IV., King of France and was leader of the Protestants of France.

1559. *July* 10. Henry II. of France dies, and is succeeded by the Dauphin, under the name of Francis II.

1560. *June* 11. The Queen Dowager of Scotland dies at Edinburgh.

July 5. Signature of the treaty of Edinburgh, by which the ambassadors of Francis II. and of Mary Stuart acknowledge that the crowns of England and Ireland belong, by right, to Elizabeth, and that their respective sovereigns ought no longer to assume the title of sovereigns of those countries.

The Queen of Scots to the Constable de Montmorency.¹

To my Cousin, the Constable.

My cousin,—I thank you heartily for the kindness you have had, to inform you of your successful and useful enterprise. You may be assured you could not have addressed yourself to one who would have rejoiced more at the news, and praised the Lord for it, as well as for the health you enjoy. I hope, from your good conduct, and the sincere prayers which are daily put up for you, that what you undertake will succeed. This I will pray the Lord; and may he grant that you may always walk in his grace, without forgetting, my cousin, to recommend myself very earnestly to yours!

Your very good cousin,

MARY.

The Queen of Scots to Philip II.²

To Monsieur my good Brother, the King of Spain.

Monsieur my good brother, I cannot tell you how

¹ It seems probable that this letter, the precise date of which is not specified, relates to some advantage gained by the Constable over the Huguenots or Protestants, driven into insurrection by the cruel persecutions of the court. In this case, it must have been written in 1560.

² This letter must have been written in 1560, the Queen Dow-

glad I was to see that you kindly remembered to let me hear of you by the Signor Don Antonio, as also to hear the many flattering things which he said to me in your name, and to receive the polite letters you wrote me by him, so that I do not know how I can sufficiently thank you; and likewise for the regret you have manifested on the death of the late queen, my mother. I feel so highly obliged, that there is nothing in the world I so ardently desire as an opportunity of showing how much I wish to be employed in rendering any service that may be agreeable to you; assuring you that I shall not complain of any trouble it may cost me: which having already begged Signor Don Antonio to say to you more amply in my name, I will not detain you any longer, except to present to you my kind commendation to your favour, praying Gód to give you, Monsieur my good brother, good health and long life.

Your good sister,

MARY.

1560. *December* 5. Francis II. dies, and is succeeded by his brother, Charles IX., aged ten years. The government devolves on his mother, Catherine de Medicis.

The Queen of Scots to King Philip II.¹

To the King of Spain, Monsieur my good Brother.

Monsieur my good brother,—I was unwilling to omit this opportunity of writing to you, to thank you for the polite letters you sent me by Signor Don Antonio, and for the civil things which he and

ager of Scotland, mother to Mary, having died the 11th of June in that year.

¹ As Mary became a widow on the 5th December, 1560, it is probable that this letter was written at the commencement of 1561.

your ambassador said to me concerning the sorrow you felt for the death of the late king, my lord, assuring you, monsieur my good brother, that you have lost in him the best brother you ever had, and that you have comforted by your letters the most afflicted poor woman under heaven; God having bereft me of all that I loved and held dear on earth, and left me no other consolation whatever but when I see those who deplore his fate and my too great misfortune. God will assist me, if he pleases, to bear what comes from him with patience; as I confess that, without his aid, I should find so great a calamity too insupportable for my strength and my little virtue. But, knowing that it is not reasonable you should be annoyed by my letters, which can only be filled with this melancholy subject, I will conclude, after beseeching you to be a good brother to me in my affliction, and to continue me in your favour, to which I affectionately commend myself: praying God to give you, monsieur my good brother, as much happiness as I wish you.

Your very good sister and cousin,

MARY.

1561. Mary Stuart, on becoming a widow, quits the court, to pass the winter at Rheims with her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine.

The Earl of Bedford, Mewtas, and Throgmorton, English envoys, warmly solicit Mary Stuart to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, but she always answers (Jan. 5, Feb. 19, April 13, June 23) that she could not do it without the consent of her Council.

M. d'Oysel asks permission for Mary Stuart to pass through England on her way to Scotland, but Elizabeth angrily refuses.

August 15. Mary sets sail from Calais, accompanied by three of her uncles, and several French and Scotch nobles, among whom were Brantôme and Castelnau de Mauvissière.

August 19. She disembarks at Leith, having escaped the vessels of Queen Elizabeth, which, however, took one of her galleys.

Having made a short stay at the *abbey of Lislebourg*,¹ she proceeds to Edinburgh.

Mary appoints James Murray, (her natural brother,) and Maitland her prime ministers. An epistolary correspondence is opened between her and the Queen of England.

October 1. The English ministers again insist on the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, particularly of the 6th Article, which forbids the Queen of Scotland to bear the arms and titles of England.

The Queen of Scots to the Constable de Montmorency.

Edinburgh, October 8th, 1561.

My cousin, —Monsieur de Dampville² being about to return, I would not fail informing you, not only of the great pleasure I experienced in his good and agreeable company, but to say that I am well assured you will feel gratified by the attention he has shown me; and to thank you for that for which I shall always consider myself obliged to you both. Although I have not the least doubt of your adhering to the promise you made me of always being my sincere friend, I cannot help reminding you of it, and begging you to believe that, whenever it is in my power, you will not have a better friend than myself. I pray God, my good cousin, to grant all you most desire. Written at Edinburgh the 8th day of October 1561.

My cousin, I am certain that Monsieur de Dampville will so amply inform you of all that concerns us, that I need only beg you to continue the same good-will that you have always borne towards me, and that you bear

¹ Mr. Lodge considers that the French of that era meant Edinburgh by the word *Lislebourg*: it is certain that the French ambassador, La Mothe Fenelon, when writing of Edinburgh Castle in his despatches to France, always calls it *Lislebourg* Castle.

² Henry de Montmorency, Seigneur de Damville, and Marshal of France, was son of the Constable de Montmorency, and accompanied Mary to Scotland when she returned thither in August 1561.

towards those who belong to me ; assuring you that we shall do the same towards you and towards your son, with whom, I am sure, you will not be displeased for the trouble he has taken for me.

Your very good cousin and friend,

MARY.

The Queen of Scots to the Constable de Montmorency.

Edinburgh, November 10th, 1561.

To my Cousin, Monsieur le Connestable.

My cousin,—From the letter which you wrote me, and which was brought me by Monsieur Du Cros¹ on his return, I was extremely pleased to hear of the kind remembrance and the good-will you bear me, and which I never fully knew until now. I beg you to believe that you will never find any one who is more sincerely your friend, or more thankful for the service you have rendered. But of this you will be more amply assured by Monsieur de Dampville, whom, on leaving, I begged to give you every information. I shall therefore conclude this letter, praying the Creator to grant you, my cousin, a long and happy life. Written at Edinburgh this 10th day of November 1561.

Your good cousin,

MARY.

My *compère*, with your permission, I kiss the hand of Madame la Connestable, requesting both of you to keep me in your good graces, which I believe myself to possess at present, as well as all those who belong to me, for which I thank God, and beg of him to favour all your good undertakings.

1562. *January* 5. Mary refuses to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, declaring that this would be a renunciation of her birthright.

¹ Du Croc, French ambassador at the court of Scotland.

1562. *May*.— An interview is proposed between the two queens, which is to take place at York at the end of August. Mary Stuart eagerly accepts the proposal, but, six weeks before the time fixed, Elizabeth makes numerous excuses for declining the meeting.

*The Queen of Scots to M. de Gonor.*¹

August 10th, 1562.

Monsieur de Gonor,—Having been informed by the Sr. de Puiguillon, who paid me a visit for the purpose of giving me an account of my affairs, that he had not yet received the remainder of my dowry, notwithstanding all the diligence he had used, nor even been indemnified for the law expenses incurred, I cannot but feel greatly astonished at this; having always promised myself so much from your good-will towards me, that I am sure it is not your fault. I know that you can greatly assist me, and I beg of you to lend a hand, with the assurance that any service you may render, in this or any other affair, will not be done for an ungrateful princess, whenever I have the means to acknowledge it, as I have charged the said Sieur de Puiguillon to tell you more fully, and I beg you to believe him as you would myself. I pray God, Monsieur de Gonor, to have you in his holy keeping. Written at Edinburgh the xth day of August 1562.

Your very good friend,

MARY R.

*The Queen of Scots to M. le duc de Nemours.*²

(Supposed) 1562.

My cousin, — Chesein having staid, that he may

¹ Arthur de Cossé, Seigneur de Gonnor, at that period superintendent of finances, and subsequently marshal of France: he was the brother of Marshal Cossé de Brissac.

² Bethune MS. No. 9126, folio 16. Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris. Autograph.

himself conduct some pieces of artillery that the King of France,¹ Monsieur my good brother-in-law, has sent me, he meantime forwarded to me his letters, among which I found one of yours, not less courteous than all the former ones you have sent me.

I am much concerned to find you have such difficulty in writing, on account of the wound in one of your hands ; and thus it seems to me that among so much good company and good cheer it must be an inconvenience to employ yourself, (so little fine weather as you have had there, as I hear,) in writing to one so much out of the world as I am here ; where, notwithstanding, I can assure you that your news will always be as well received, while I live, as from any friend or relative I may have ; for I know not any from whom I hear with more pleasure.²

¹ Charles IX.

² This correspondent of Mary Queen of Scots was the original of one of Brantôme's most brilliant portraits. " Jacques de Savoy, Duc de Nemours, was," says that writer, who knew him well, " one of the most accomplished of men, whether among princes, lords, or gentlemen ; he was beautiful in person, had the utmost grace and majesty of figure, was most true of his word, was brave and valiant, good-natured, agreeable and accessible ; he spoke well and wrote well, either in rhyme or prose, and dressed so well withal, that in his youthful prime the whole court of France took him for a pattern and followed his fashions. He was imitated, too, in his gestures and manners, but not so easily, for his good sense and noble mind were apparent in his graceful motions and fine address, but all so unstudied, that his elegance of demeanour seemed born with him ;" his only fault was, admiring and being admired by the ladies a little too much ; " yet was his heart true to only one." " Often have I seen him," continues Brantôme, " leave vespers before they were half over to ride at the ring, or perform some of his chivalric exercises in the court of our king's palace, where he was the attraction of a thousand fair spectators." The Duc de Nemours was a successful warrior ; he had been trained to war by Bayard, and had been reared

I will not tire you with a long discourse, to avoid which I will draw to an end at present; and praying to God that he will give you as much happiness as you merit, and wishing you as much content as you can desire for yourself, I shall, and will be always,

Your very good cousin,

MARIE.

1563. *August.* The Cardinal of Lorraine proposes the Archduke Charles of Austria as a husband for Mary Stuart.

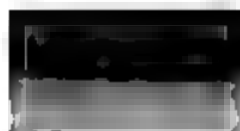
*The Queen of Scots to M. le Duc de Nemours.*¹

(Supposed date) 1563.

My cousin,—I have received both your letters, one by Clanrenault, and the other by Montignac, and find by them the place where you are. It seems to me that you take no little pains in writing to me so often; and I also know how little means I have of sending you news from this place that can be agreeable to you.

I fear that I am troublesome to you in what you so often do for me; nevertheless, I would not lose this opportunity of writing to you a word, rather to shew that I would not omit what was due from me, than to attempt to answer your very kind letters, and to assure you, by the same means, that I have no other opinion among the later campaigns of Francis I.; he was therefore too old for a husband for Mary Stuart, although he was a single man when she wrote these letters; they are so familiarly written, and with such a confiding reliance on his good offices, that it might be thought she could have been easily induced to have given her hand to her gallant cousin, who, with all his gifts of mind and person, might have been an able assistant in governing her impracticable people. Nemours was, however, desperately enamoured of her aunt, (Anne d'Este, daughter of the Duke of Ferrara,) Duchesse de Guise, whom he afterwards married.

¹ Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris. Bethune Collection, (No. 9126, folio 18.) It is an autograph.



but that you are the good friend and relation to which your letters bear testimony.

I thank you also much for the friendly offices you have performed for Pienne, at my request. I should be glad to have the power of recompensing you by somewhat in the same manner, or at least by something of more advantage to you than a tiresome letter, to which I will put an end, after commending myself to your good graces; and may God grant that in all things of greater importance than the safe arrival of my letters, not only his winds, but all heaven may be propitious to you in every good design. Such is the wish of

Your good cousin,

MARIE.

*The Queen of Scots to M. le Duc de Nemours.*¹

1563.

My cousin,—As I find by your letters, and by the information I have elsewhere, that the English have made good mention of the friendship borne to me by the Queen of England, my sister, of which she has, indeed, made me indications on so many occasions, that I dare not and will not doubt it; and I hope well she will give me more sure demonstrations of it. If we see that I yield somewhat this year, (which is too far advanced,) I expect to recover the next. However this may be, I feel myself obliged to you for all the good you wish me, and assure you that you can desire it to no person who rejoices more to hear of any that happens to yourself than I do; and that I may not interrupt the pleasure which is given you by the arrival of the Duke and

¹ Bibliothèque du Roi, Bethune Collection, No. 9126, fol. 24. It is entirely in Mary's hand writing, endorsed "*A mon Cousin, M. le Duc de Nemours.*"

Duchess of Savoy at court, I will not write a longer letter, also not to do wrong to the patience of my bearer, who is far too grand to take charge of a long discourse ; therefore I will finish this, by my recommendations to your good grace, and with prayer to God that he will grant you, my cousin, health, and a long and happy life.

Your very good cousin,

MARIE.

1564. *February* 20. Randolph, ambassador of Queen Elizabeth, urges the Queen of Scotland to give her hand to Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards created Earl of Leicester.

March 30. Mary Stuart replies that it is beneath her dignity to marry a mere subject ; Randolph, nevertheless, renews his negotiations for this purpose.

Castelnau de Mauvissière visits Scotland, to prevail on Mary Stuart to marry the Duke of Anjou, but by the advice of her council she refuses him and all the other foreign suitors for her hand, namely, the Archduke Charles of Austria, the Prince of Condé, and the Dukes of Ferrara, Orleans, and Nemours.

April 14. The Countess of Lenox, daughter of Margaret, eldest sister of Henry VIII., solicits the hand of the Queen of Scotland for her son, Lord Henry Darnley.

July 5. Elizabeth warmly opposes this marriage. She, however, grants the Earl of Lenox and his son permission to go to Edinburgh.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

To the Archbishop of Glasgow, my Ambassador in France.¹

From Lislebourg, 11th October, 1564.

Monsieur de Glasgow, when I despatched the bearer of this, I thought to send off soon afterwards Clanre-

¹ James Beaton, or Bethune, the last Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, fled from Scotland when the Catholic religion fell into disrepute, and retired to France, where he acted as ambassador for

nault, fully informed of everything; but, he having made an harangue to me, from which I perceived that his abilities were not such as I supposed them to be, I have not yet determined whether I shall forward my despatch by him, or by some other person: do not mention this to any one. I shall send you a circumstantial account of all the news: do you the same; you cannot do me a greater favour. I shall tell you nothing more than that Randolph is come, bringing me the most polite letters possible from the Queen of England. I will tell you all about this more amply hereafter; for the present, this must suffice. I pray God to give you, with health, a long and happy life.

Your very sincere friend and mistress,
MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

From Lislebourg, 2nd November, 1564.

Monsieur de Glascow,—The bearer of this has begged so earnestly to be taken into my service, that, without considering his youth, as I had before done, I would not let him set out without this short letter, in which I shall not give you much news, referring to that which I have commanded him to say relative to the appointments of the Duke,¹ and of the Earl of Lenox, for the doing of which the more easily, it was necessary that this duke should resign to you the provostship of Glasgow, agreeably to the promise which he made you. I assured him that you would assent either to my disposing of it, or reserving it for you, being certain that, at my request, and for my service, you would at any time give it back to the said Earl of Lenox, as the bearer Mary and her son James VI., for the period of forty years. He died in Paris in 1603, at the age of 86.

¹ The Earl of Arran, created Duc de Chatelherault, by the King of France.

will tell you ; also about the return of Melvil, whom I sent to the queen, my good sister, with an apology for some letters which I had written to her, and which she considered rather rude ; but she took the interpretation which he put upon them in good part, and has since sent to me Randolph, who is here at present, and has brought me some very kind and polite letters, written by her own hand, containing fair words, and some complaints that the queen¹ and her ambassador . . . had assured her that I had published in mockery proposals which she had made me to marry Lord Robert.² I cannot imagine that any of those over there could wish to embroil me so much with her, since I have neither spoken to any body, nor written respecting this proposal, not even to the queen, who, I am sure, would not have borne such testimony against me ; but I have thought of writing about it to M. de Foix and to Baptiste. In the mean time, if you hear any thing, talk to him on his return from England ; let me know, but do not mention a word about what I am writing to you to any one whatever.

For the rest, I shall hold the parliament on the 5th of next month, for the sole purpose of reinstating the Earl of Lenox in his possessions, and afterwards I shall not fail to despatch to you a gentleman, who will acquaint you with all that has occurred more at length than I can inform you at present. Meanwhile, I beg you to answer the letters I wrote to you by Rolland, and give me a circumstantial account of all the news where you are. I conclude at present, recommending myself heartily to you, and praying God to give you his grace.

Your very kind mistress and friend,

MARY R.

¹ Catherine, Queen-mother of France.

² Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

January 28, 1565.

Monsieur de Glasgow,—I send the bearer more for a blind, than for any matter of importance, expressly to set people guessing what it can be about. Pretend to be greatly annoyed by the delay of this letter, and, if possible, cause the English ambassador to suppose that it relates to something of great consequence. Lose no time in going to the queen and soliciting an audience; and, under the cloak of my pension, about which you will talk to her, invent some subjects that will occupy her attention for a considerable time, purposely to make them imagine that this despatch contains something very important. . . . will give you intelligence concerning my affairs: you will know to what account this information may be turned; and next day speak to her again if you can, and write to M. the Cardinal,¹ as if in great haste; but take no notice of any thing beyond forwarding my letters, so that he may receive news of me, and send me, as soon as you possibly can, one of your people with all the news you are able to obtain. I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

1565. *February* 5. Darnley arrives at the court of Scotland; the queen is much pleased with him.

April 18. Mary Stuart decides upon marrying her cousin Darnley, and announces her intention to Elizabeth.

May 15. Nicholas Throgmorton is sent to the court of Scotland, to prevail upon Mary to change her resolution; at the same time, Elizabeth arrests the Countess of Lenox, and summons her husband and son to return to England upon pain of confiscation.

June —. Murray, the Dukes of Chatelherault and of Argyle, assured of Elizabeth's protection, form a plot to prevent this marriage, and to place Murray at the head of the government.

¹ The Cardinal of Lorraine, Mary's uncle.

*The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.*¹

St. Johnstown, June 14, 1565.

Right excellent, right high, and mighty princess, our dearest sister and cousin, we commend us unto you. For certain matters of importance, tending to the maintenance and conservation of the good intelligence and amity standing betwixt us, we have presently *direct* towards you the bearer hereof, our trusty and well-beloved counsellor, Maister John Hay, commendatore of Balmerinoch, our principal master of requests.

Praying you, therefore, good sister, to grant him audience, and in *sic* things as he shall declare unto you on our behalf, to give him firm credit as to ourself.

And so, right high, right excellent, and right mighty princess, our dearest sister and cousin, we commit you to the tuition of Almighty God.

Given under our signet, at our town of St. Johnstown, the 14 day of June, and of our reign the xxiii. year.

Your sister and cousin,

MARY R.

July 3. The conspirators endeavour to seize the queen near the church of Beith, on the road between Perth and Callendar; but, having had information of the conspiracy, she escapes them by passing much earlier than was expected.

July 29. Mary Stuart, having received the approbation of the King and Queen of France, is married to Darnley, in the chapel of Holyrood House, and orders him to be addressed by the title of King during her life.

¹ This letter is written in Scotch, and of course not by the hand of Mary, whose first attempt to write any of our insular dialects did not occur till she penned at Bolton Castle an unintelligible letter to Sir Francis Knolles, which occurs in this series. All the despatches of Mary tending to identify her locality in Scotland (often a matter of fierce dispute) are of great historical importance.

August 19. Tamworth, sent by Elizabeth to remonstrate on this subject, is confined in the Castle of Dunbar, for having entered Scotland without a passport.

The Queen of Scots to King Philip II.

Glasgow, September 10th, 1565.

To the King of Spain, Monsieur my good brother.

Monsieur my good brother,—The interest which you have always taken in the maintenance and support of our Catholic religion, induced me some time since to solicit your favour and assistance, as I foresaw what has now taken place in the kingdom, and which tends to the utter ruin of the Catholics, and to the establishment of those unfortunate errors, which, were I and the king my husband¹ to oppose, we should be in danger of losing our crown, as well as all pretensions we may have elsewhere, unless we are aided by one of the great princes of Christendom.

Having duly considered this, as likewise the constancy you have displayed in your kingdoms, and with what firmness you have supported, more than any other prince, those who have depended on your favour, we have determined upon addressing ourselves to you in preference to any other, to solicit your advice, and to strengthen ourselves with your aid and support. To obtain this, we have despatched to you this English gentleman, a Catholic and a faithful servant of the king my husband and myself, with ample directions to give you an account of the state of our affairs, which he is well acquainted with; and we beg you to believe him as you would do ourselves, and to send him back as soon as possible; for occasions are so urgent, that it is of importance both for the crown and the liberty of the church; to maintain which, we will risk our lives and

¹ Henry Darnley.

our kingdom, provided we are assured of your assistance and advice.

After kissing your hands, I pray God to give you, monsieur my good brother, every prosperity and felicity. From Glasgow, this x of September.

Your very good sister,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

From Lislebourg, 1st October, 1565.

Monsieur de Glascow,—I am greatly astonished ; for a very long time I have received no tidings from you, not even by Mauvissières, who calls himself ambassador from the king. I beg you will let me hear oftener from you. As for any news here, you must know that Mauvissières was commissioned to treat preliminarily between me and the queen, my neighbour. This I willingly agree to ; but, as to treating with my subjects, having conducted themselves as they have done, I had rather lose all.

Now, I am sure you must have heard enough upon this subject from your brother, and since from Chalmer : and there is nothing of very recent occurrence, but that they are getting worse and worse, and are now at Dumfries, where they have resolved to stay until I leave this place, which will be to-morrow, and then they will go, as I am informed, to Annan, which they purpose to defend against me, with the aid of three hundred English arquebusiers of the garrison of England : and they boast that they shall receive more succours both by sea and land, so as to be able to make head against our army, which is to set out to-morrow, or the next day at the latest, and with which the king and I intend to go in person, hoping that, the time of the proclamation having expired, we shall retire and give them time

to wait for the army of the queen of England, which is to be ready next spring. Urge the queen as often as you can, and by all the means in your power, to send us men and money in this emergency, and then write forth-with what I have to hope for ; and beware, above all things, of exciting the jealousy of a certain person whom you know, and with whom you must privately use the like persuasions. Something was known at court about your dealings with Bay

I shall write you more fully on the first opportunity ; but, above all, keep a good look-out, and see if my rebels hold any secret communication over there with the Protestants, or Chatillon ; and if the Duke and the Earl of Murray have any agent about the queen, whom you may assure, that they have full liberty of conscience, and that this is not the motive which influences them, nor the public welfare ; for I have made no changes in the order of things to which they have themselves consented ; and if they were not at the council, it has been because I never could get them to come to it after my marriage, except a few, who, after taking part against them, subsequently went over to their side, which they now begin to repent of, and among others the duke and Gudo . . . who have sent me word to that effect.

Yesterday Dromleveriel and Lowener sent to me to beg pardon, saying they would serve us, assuring me they had forsaken them, finding their intentions so different from what they represented. The traitor Maxwell is deeply ashamed of having so basely broken his faith to me ; he does not appear disposed to send his son to England as an hostage, not having forgotten how his last was treated ; this he sent me word himself. In short, when England perceives that we have ever so little succour to hope for, they will draw back, I should think, from seeing those people so disheartened. You will see the memorandum which I have given to the

bearer, of what he is to say to the king, instead of instructions. Tell me how he acquits himself of his commission, for I assure you he is more English than Scotch. Here I conclude, praying God to grant you a happy and a long life.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

1565. *October*. Mary Stuart, at the head of eighteen thousand men, drives the conspirators from Dumfries, and compels them to seek protection in England from the Earl of Bedford, who has advanced as far as Carlisle, to support them in case of their succeeding.

October 7. Murray, who had fled to London, is received at the court of Elizabeth.

1566. *February*. Darnley, regardless of what he owes to the love of the queen, gives himself up to all sorts of excesses, and overwhelms her with humiliations and unworthy treatment.

March 9. Morton seizes the gates of the palace, and David Rizzio, secretary to Mary, is seized in her presence, and murdered by Lord Ruthven, Douglas, Ballantyne, and Kerr, whom Darnley had introduced into the chamber of the queen, then in the seventh month of her pregnancy.

March 10. Darnley dissolves the parliament on his own authority, and leagues himself with Murray, who had rejoined the conspirators.

March 12. Mary regains her ascendancy over Darnley, and takes refuge with him in the castle of Dunbar. She there assembles eight thousand men, and marches upon Edinburgh, while the murderers of Rizzio flee to Berwick.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

Upon the 9th day of March, we being at even, about seven hours, in our cabinet, at our supper, sociated with our sister the Countess of Argile, our brother the commendator of Holyrood House,¹ the laird of Creich,

¹ Lord Robert, one of the natural sons of James V., and next to James Earl of Murray, the most turbulent and troublesome of Mary's subjects. The Countess of Argyle was Mary's half-sister, being one of the natural daughters of James V.

[Beaton,] Arthur Erskin, and certain others our domestic servitors, in quiet manner, especially by reason of our evil disposition [indisposition], being counselled to sustain ourselves with flesh, having then passed almost to the end of seven months in our birth, the king our husband came to us in our cabinet, and placed himself beside us at our supper. The Earl of Morton and Lord Lindsay, with their assisters, boden in warlike manner [properly armed], to the number of eighteen persons, occupied the whole entry of our palace of Holyrood House, so that, as they believed, it was not possible for any person to escape forth of the same. In that mean time, the Lord Ruthven boden [armed] in like manner, with his complices, took entry perforce in our cabinet, and there seeing our secretary, David Riccio, [Rizzio,] among others our servants, declared he had to speak with him. In this instant, we required the king our husband, if he knew anything of that enterprize, who denied the same. Also, we commanded the Lord Ruthven, under the pain of treason, to avoid him forth of our presence, he [Riccio] then for refuge took safeguard, (having retired him behind our back,) but Ruthven, with his complices, cast down our table upon ourself, put violent hands on him, struck him over our shoulder with whinyards [hangers], one part of them standing before our face with bended daggs [cocked pistols], most cruelly took him out of our cabinet, and at the entry of our chamber gave him fifty-six strokes with whinyards and swords. In doing whereof, we were not only struck with great dread, but also, by sundry considerations, were most justly induced to take extreme fear of our life. After this deed, immediately, the said Lord Ruthven, coming again into our presence, declared “how they and their complices were highly offended with our proceedings and tyranny, which was not to them tolerable; how we were abused

by the said David, whom they had actually put to death, namely, in taking his counsel for maintenance of the ancient religion, debarring of the lords who were fugitives, and entertaining of amity with foreign princes and nations with whom we were confederate, putting also upon council the Lords Bothwell and Huntley, who were traitors, and with whom he [Riccio] associated himself; that the lords banished in England were that morn to resort to us, and would take plain part with them in our controversy, and that the king was willing to remit them their offences." We all this time took no less care of ourselves than for our counsel and nobility, to wit, the Earls Huntly, Bothwell, Athole, Lords Fleming and Levingston, Sir James Balfour, and certain others, our familiar servitors, against whom the enterprize was *conspier*,¹ as well as for David, and namely, to have hanged Sir James; yet, by the providence of God, the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly escaped at a back window by some cords; the conspirators took some fear, and thought themselves disappointed in their enterprize. The Earl of Athole and Sir James Balfour, by some other means, with the Lords Fleming and Levingston, obtained deliverance.

The provost and town of Edinburgh, having understood this tumult in our palace, caused ring their common bell, came to us in great number, and desired to have seen our presence and communed with us, and to have known our welfare; to whom we were not permitted to give answer, being extremely *bosted* by their lords, who in our face declared, "if we desired to have spoken them, they should cut us in collops, and cast us over the walls."

Our brother the Earl of Murray, that same day at even, accompanied by the Earl of Rothes, Pitarrow, Grange, and others, came to us, and, seeing our state,

¹ i. e. was concerted.

was moved with natural affection towards us ; upon the morn he assembled the enterprizers of the late crime and such of our rebels as came with him. In their council they thought it most expedient that we should be warded in our castle of Stirling, there to remain till we had approved in parliament all their wicked enterprizes, established their religion, and given to the king the crown-matrimonial and the whole government of our realm, or else by all appearance prepared to put us to death, or to detain us in perpetual captivity.

That night we declared our state to the king our husband, certifying him how miserably he would be handled, if he permitted the lords to prevail, and how unacceptable it would be to other princes our confederates, in case he altered the religion. By this persuasion he was induced to condescend to the purpose taken by us, and to retire in our company to Dunbar. We, being minded to have gotten ourselves relieved of this detention, desired, in quiet manner, the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly to have prepared some way whereby we might have escaped ; who not doubting therein, at the least taking no regard to hazard their lives in that behalf, devised that we should have come over the walls of the palace in the night upon chairs, which they had in readiness to that effect soon after.

To this letter was added, in the queen's own hand, "I beseech you, as soon as this shall come to hand, to communicate the contents to the court, to prevent false reports from being circulated ; and do not fail to impart it to the ambassadors."

*The Queen of Scots to her Aunt, the Duchesse de Guise.*¹
1566.

My Aunt,—I received both your letters almost at

¹ Bibliothèque du Roi. Bethune MS., No. 9126, fol. 9.

the same time. The one through Mauvissière, (the French Ambassador,) in which you show displeasure against me, vexed me not a little with you ; however, on the whole, I have full proof of your goodwill towards me, and there shall be nothing done on my part to lessen it.

I shall use no fine words in telling you how much, in a short time, my scene has been changed from the utmost ease and content in myself to continual trouble and vexation, as you must have already heard by the secretary of my ambassador, who, I have heard, has just arrived at Paris before the departure of this ; his other servitor, whom I must caution you to tell nothing more, and also (not to wrong the ability of Mauvissière) who will give you a relation of the truth of that which I made him understand.

As to the rest, I see by what you have written to me, the great offers that the Duke of Nemours¹ has made

¹ Offers of marriage. They soon after married. There had been some scandal circulating previously. It is not possible to form perspicuous ideas on the subject of Mary Queen of Scots' domestic connexions, and her attachment to her mother's relatives, which was very strong, without a view of the members of the house of Guise. The mother of Queen Mary was eldest daughter of Claude de Lorraine, first Duc de Guise, who married Antoinette de Bourbon, the grandmother Mary often mentions in these letters. Besides Mary de Guise, the duke and duchess were the parents of, 1st, François, Duc de Guise, surnamed Balafre, who obtained great military fame by the capture of Calais, and in the religious civil wars of France. He was assassinated by Poltrot, a Huguenot, before Orleans, in 1565 ; 2d, Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine, who was said to be the chief contriver of the League. He was very handsome, and was scandalized as the paramour of Catherine de Medicis, Queen of France ; 3d, Louis, Cardinal de Guise, who died in 1578 ; 4th, Claude, first Duke of Aumale ; 5th, René, founder of the branch of Elboeuf ; 6th, François, Grand Prior of France, and General of the Gallies of France.

to you, which I find are very advantageous for my cousins,¹ your children; and since it pleases you (as to one of your best friends and relations) to communicate that which is so important to you, I would in nothing conceal my sentiments, although in my judgment little worthy to counsel you: on the other side, I do not see or hear elsewhere anything which can be to their prejudice or yours, but, on the contrary, it appears to me, that you ought to hope to be altogether one of the happiest women in the world. So I desire, and I wish contentment to that *seigneur* to whom you are about to be allied, to whom I pray you make my commendations by the first opportunity.

I kiss also the hands of the darling, and beg her to excuse me, for so much am I cumbered with this burden, I cannot write to her; I shall not remain more

¹ Mary was first cousin to the celebrated Henry Duc de Guise, who was assassinated at the castle of Blois by the orders of Henry III.; likewise to his brother Charles, the second Cardinal de Guise, who was murdered at the same time with his brother, at the castle of Blois, December 23, 1588. Their bodies were chopped to pieces and consumed in a great fire made in the grate of the guard-room, still shown in the castle.

The line of Guise was a younger branch of the house of Lorraine, whose princes proudly looked down on the Capetian kings of France, and ever considered themselves the representatives of Charlemagne. The family of Lorraine, in all its branches, were remarkable for beauty, lofty stature, impetuous valour, and that degree of brilliant genius which is seldom attended with great worldly prosperity, and induces withal no little turbulence. They were nearly as unfortunate as the royal house of Stuart.

In the civil wars of France the family of Guise were at the head of the ultra-Catholic faction, and were really quite as troublesome to the reigning monarchs as the leaders of the Huguenots. They were exceedingly popular with the citizens of Paris, whose favourite oath was, "By the double cross of Lorraine."

than six weeks in this place. I pray to God that he will render you happy and content.

From the Castle of Lislebourg (Edinburgh,) this of May.

Your very affectionate and obedient niece,

MARIE.¹

June 19. She is delivered of a son, afterwards James VI., at the castle of Edinburgh.

King Henry Darnley to Monsieur the Cardinal de Guise.

From the Castle of Edinburgh, this 19th day of June, 1566, in great haste.

Sir, my uncle,—Having so favourable an opportunity of writing to you by this gentleman, who is on the point of setting off, I would not omit to inform you that the queen, my wife, has just been delivered of a son, which circumstance, I am sure, will not cause you less joy than ourselves; and also to inform you how, on this occasion, I have, on my part, as the queen, my said wife, has also on hers, written to the king, begging him

¹ This letter is a much needed link in the chain of Queen Mary's letters. It is written with some little feeling of family pique to her aunt, the Duchesse de Guise, one of whose letters, it seems, had been in a strain of reproof or reproach, which has evidently left its impression on the mind of the queen, though the other letter had apparently succeeded in soothing her. The time was just after the murder of Rizzio, when Mary had retired to the castle of Edinburgh. Mary was prevented from writing to some lady of the house of Guise, whom she calls *the darling*, being so cumbered by her size, for she was within a few weeks of bringing James into the world. The letter was written in May, probably about the 21st, for she mentions leaving *Lislebourg* in six weeks, and she was put to bed in Edinburgh Castle, June 19th.

to be pleased to oblige and honour us by standing sponsor for him, by which means he will increase the debt of gratitude I owe him for all his favours to me, for which I shall always be ready to make every return in my power.

So, having nothing more agreeable to inform you of at present, I conclude, praying God, monsieur my uncle, to have you always in His holy and worthy keeping.

Your very humble and very obed^t. nephew,
HENRY R.

Please to present my commendations to madame the Dowager de Guise.

1566. *July* 11. Castelnau de Mauvissière is despatched by Charles IX. of France, to compliment Mary Stuart on the birth of her son.

The Queen of Scots to M. le Duc de Nemours.

(Supposed date) 1566.

Neither the Sieur de Mauvissière, (fearing accident,) nor the ambassador, (du Croc,) have yet brought me your letters, at least, not those of your own writing. If I do not get them on the return of Jacques, one of your old servants, and likewise mine, write a word by him to assure us that you will take the pains of imparting your news to those who well merit it; for no relation or kind friend can more desire to hear good tidings of you. And now, after commending the bearer to you, he can testify how little leisure there has been to write or despatch anything during these troubles: you have had a taste of such, but they had been far worse here if God had not been pleased to interpose his hand, to whom, after having kissed yours, I will pray that He

will give you, my cousin, your mistress,¹ with all the contentment you can desire.

Your very good cousin,

MARIE.²

[Endorsed,
To my cousin, M. le Duc de Nemours.]

Instructions given to the S^r. de Mauvissière³ on a mission from the King of France to Scotland.

The S^r. de Mauvissière, whom the king is now sending to Scotland, will, on passing through England, wait upon the S^r. de la Forest, his ambassador, and accompany him, to present to the queen of the aforesaid England the letters which their majesties have written to her; and say that, having sent him to Scotland, it is their wish that, in passing through the kingdom, he should wait upon her, and present, in their names, their most affectionate respects, from the desire they have not to omit towards her anything that mutual friendship demands; and which their majesties wish not only to perpetuate, but to augment by all the means possible, as well as by every act of kindness. And, at the same time, the said Sieur de Mauvissière will assure the said lady, that the perfect friendship the king bears her is so strong and so sincere, that all the concerns and affairs of the said lady interest him as much as his own,

¹ The Duchesse de Guise, the widow of her uncle, the great Francis Duc de Guise, surnamed le Balafré. Her name was Anne d'Este. Nemours was then courting her. After their marriage, Mary sometimes addresses him as *mon oncle*, though the Duchesse de Guise was but her uncle's widow.

² Bethune MS. No. 9126, fol. 7. Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.

³ Michel Castelnau Seigneur de Mauvissière was frequently employed in diplomatic missions, and was in 1575 appointed French ambassador in London, which post he held for six years.

and that he ardently desires to prove the sincerity of his affection rather by deeds than by words.

That the reason for which he is going to Scotland is to congratulate, in the name of their majesties, the said queen of the aforesaid Scotland on her happy delivery, and that God has given her a son, which news was very agreeable to them, as they also presume that it will have given the greatest joy to the said lady.

That his stay will be so short, that, if it please the said lady to commission him to say any thing on her part to the Queen of Scotland, he will deliver the message faithfully, and bring her an answer in a few days.

Having performed the above duty to the said Queen of England, he will see the *duke* [earl] of Leicester, and say to him that, their majesties continuing to entertain for him the same good-will they have always hitherto done, it is their wish that S^r. de la Forest should assist him in every way he can in regard to his marriage, and to make such offers as he will repeat, of which the *duke* will judge if they can be useful to him, or in any way facilitate and promote the conclusion of it; and that, if it be agreeable to him to make known his intentions to the said S^r. de la Forest, or the Sieur de Trochmortin,¹ De Guillerey,² or any other whom he may think proper, he will find that they will proceed more expeditiously than the Sieur de Foix, his predecessor; having been commanded so to do by their majesties, who desire that the Sieur de la Forest will inform them of this in his own name, and contract the closest private familiarity with the said Sieur de Trochmortin, Guillerey, or any other whom the duke may choose to employ, to procure him information, and to assist him in the prosecution of his undertaking in such manner as the said duke may intimate that he has occasion for. That the said Sieur de

¹ Throckmorton.

² Probably Killegrew.

Mauvissière, on arriving in Scotland, shall first visit the queen of that kingdom, and after delivering to her the letters of their majesties and their affectionate remembrances, he is to congratulate her on her happy delivery, and its having pleased God to give her a son, assuring her their majesties received the news with the greatest joy, and will be still happier to learn that the mother and infant are as well as can be desired.

Besides, he has letters to the king, her husband, to express the like congratulation to him, but also with the express command not to do any thing in this matter but what the said lady shall think fit, and to use such language to him as she may deem proper and order.

That he has also letters of introduction to different gentlemen of that country; that, if the said lady considers it serviceable to her that he should hold any language to them on the part of their majesties, he must do so; being, when all is said, expressly commanded to do nothing but by her advice, and conduct himself, in all respects, as may be for the interest of her affairs, according as she may direct him.

And if, inasmuch as the said *Sieur de Mauvissière* says he thinks the said Queen of Scotland will ask what assurance he brings her of the assistance she is to expect from the king in her affairs, in men or money, if the said lady should speak to him on this subject, he is to reply as follows:—

That Monsieur the Cardinal of Lorraine,¹ having acquainted their majesties that the said lady had need of money, and seeing that, from the state of his finances, he could not spare any of his own, had begged their majesties to furnish him with the sixty thousand livres which were due of his pension, and which their said

¹ The uncle of Mary queen of Scots of the house of Guise. See historical note to Mary's letter to the *Duchesse de Guise*.

majesties would have done most willingly; but there not being sufficient ready money in the hands of the treasurer to furnish him with the said sum, the said treasurer had rendered himself responsible in his own private name towards those from whom the said *Sieur the Cardinal* should obtain the said sum, which their majesties think that he would not fail to remit to the said lady, knowing she had need of it. And the said lady must not doubt that, if his majesty had had as much money at his command as good will to assist the said lady, she would always find his purse open and at her service.

As to sending succours in men, their majesties have been informed, from various sources, that the affairs of her kingdom are at present in such a state of peace and tranquillity as not to require it, and that she, to whom God has given so fine and promising an heir, is so much revered and obeyed, that they think her most important object will be to reconcile her subjects to each other, if there yet remains any enmity among them on account of the past, and to preserve peace and tranquillity in her dominions; and for this reason they have not thought it necessary to give any instructions on this head to the *Sieur de Mauvissière*. But, if things are otherwise, which they cannot believe, and the said lady is really in need of succours, she will intimate as much, if she pleases, to the *Sieur de Mauvissière*, that on his return he may be able to report the same to their said majesties, who will always do, in favour and for the assistance of the said lady, whatever she can promise herself and expect from princes who are her best and most sincere friends in this world.

His majesty is much gratified by the favour which the said lady has done him, by having chosen him as one of the sponsors; and, being desirous of gratifying and obliging her to the utmost of his power, begs her to in-

form him which of the princes of his kingdom or other seigneurs will be most agreeable to her to hold her son at the holy font of baptism in his name; as the one whom she may name and select, his majesty will immediately despatch on receiving from her this information.

1566. *October 8.* The Queen and the Lords of Council repair to Jedburgh, to hold a Court of Justice. She is there taken dangerously ill.

The Queen of Scots to the King of France, Charles IX.

Oct. 16, 1566.

Monsieur my good brother,—In despatching this courier on some of my affairs, I would not willingly fail of recommending myself to your good grace, and by the same way to testify the obligation in which I feel myself beholden to you for the care that it has pleased you to have of all that regards me. I will not fail to have you informed when anything happens worth mentioning through Monsieur du Croc; and I will myself inform you of all that may befall, since in a little time there will be no cause that I should importune you any more, save to recommend myself to you with a very good heart, and praying God that he will give you, monsieur my good brother, in health long and happy life. At Jeddart, this 16th of October.

Your very good sister,

MARIE.¹

October 17. She is at the point of death. A favourable crisis ensues.

¹ From the autograph collection in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburg, No. 28. This letter was written the very day before she fell ill of the autumnal fever at Jedburgh, which had nearly been fatal to her.

October 28. It is not until this day that Darnley goes to see her. He leaves her again on the morrow.

November 18. She is at Dunbar, where she writes to the Council of England on the subject of her rights and those of her son.

*The Queen of Scots to the Lords of Queen Elizabeth's Council.*¹

Right trusty and well beloved cousins,² we greet you well. Whereas we have understood by the report of our familiar servitor, Robert Melville, the good offers made in our behoof by the queen our good sister, your sovereign, we think ourself obliged to do to her whatso-

¹ MS. Cotton. Caligula, b. x., fol. 388. See Ellis's *Original Letters*, vol. ii. p. 227, for the document in the original orthography.

² The succession to the crown of England was beset with great difficulties when the lineal heiress, Mary, Queen of Scotland, was married to the young King of France, Francis II.; and there was a natural expectation of a numerous family from this young pair; for even if the sensible plan of entailing the united island crowns on a younger child of Mary and Francis had been adopted, it is very improbable that the English prejudice could have been surmounted sufficiently for any loyal allegiance to have been shown to a Gallican Scottish prince. These clouds and mists which hung over the future were cleared up, by the changing course of human events, in an incredibly short time; in less than seven years Mary had lost the French king, without having issue by him, and married a prince, who was an Englishman born, and next to herself in succession to the English throne. In due time she was the mother of a healthy thriving boy, whose recognition as heir to Elizabeth she requested in the following document, sent just after a warm debate in the English Parliament to urge their queen to name her successor. This letter was addressed by Mary to the lords of the council, on her recovery from the fever which had been nearly fatal to her at Jedburgh, October 17, 1566. She alludes to this illness in the course of the letter, informing the English ministers, that when she thought herself dying, she had left their queen guardian to her heir. The document is written by a Scotch secretary, and signed by Mary.

ever a good sister and tender cousin ought, where she finds so great thankfulness; and that we could not declare the affection we bear toward our dearest sister better *nor* [than] by that which we did when we looked not to have brooked this life twelve hours in our late sickness: at which time our meaning was, that the special care of our son should rest upon our said good sister [Queen Elizabeth].

We believe ye have always been good ministers to move your sovereign to show her own reasonable favour to our advancement in that which is right, and firmly ye shall so continue. We take ourself (as we doubt not ye know), to be the queen your sovereign's next cousin, and, next herself and the lawful issue of her body, to have the greatest interest of all other to that which has been (as is reported) lately *motionated* [moved] in the parliament-house.¹ And albeit we be not of mind to press our good sister further than shall come of her own good pleasure to put that matter in question, yet because in that case we will be judged by the laws of the realm of England, we do affectuously require you to have respect to justice with indifference, whensoever it shall please the queen your sovereign to put the same matter in deliberation. As to us, we will in nowise insist therein until such time as it shall please herself to give us warning. We desire you, in the meantime, to have that opinion of us, that as we mean to continue all our life in good intelligence with the queen your sovereign and realm, so, if any prince were to offend the same, we would withstand him at our utter power; and that we cannot advise our

¹ For Queen Elizabeth to be petitioned to name her successor, which had put that queen in an extreme passion. See her angry letter, MS. Landsdowne, edited by Sir H. Ellis, *Original Letters*, vol. ii. p. 226.

dearest sister to extend her favour towards any that shall *recognise it* [acknowledge it] in a better sort. And so we commit you to the protection of God. At Dunbar, the 18th day of November, 1566.

Your good *cousignace*,¹

MARIE R.

To the lords of the queen's council.

November 26. The Queen goes to the Castle of Craigmillar. Here Murray, Maitland, Huntly, Argyle, and Bothwell entreat her to divorce Darnley. She will not listen to them.

November —. Unable to prevail upon her to change her resolution, they decide upon the death of Darnley, and Belfour writes an engagement to that effect, which he signs, together with Bothwell, Huntly, and Argyle.

December 16. Baptism of James, son of the Queen of Scotland. The Earl of Bedford attends on the part of England, and the Count de Brienne and M. Ducroc for France. Darnley absents himself from this ceremony, because Elizabeth has forbidden her ambassador to give him the title of King.

*Monsieur du Croc to the Archbishop of Glasgow,
Scottish resident ambassador at Paris.*

From December 6 to December 23, 1566.

The queen is at present at Craigmillar, about a league distant from this city, (Edinburgh). She is in the hands of physicians, and I do assure you is not at all well; and I do believe the principal part of her disease to consist in a deep grief and sorrow, nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same; still she repeats the words, "I could wish to be dead!" You know very well the injury her majesty hath received is very great, and she can never forget it.

¹ This word is, we verily believe, meant for *cousiness*. It was the well known royal etiquette for the English princes of the blood-royal to address all peers of the realm as their cousins.

The king her husband came to visit her at Jedburgh, the very day after Captain Hay went away; he remained there but one single night, and yet in that short time I had a great deal of conversation with him. He returned to see the queen five or six days ago, and the day before yesterday he sent word to desire me to speak with him half a league from this city, which I complied with, and found that things go still worse and worse. I think he intends going away to-morrow; but at all events, I am assured that he is not to be present at the baptism¹ [*of the young prince his son.*] To speak my mind freely to you, (but I beg you not to repeat it to my prejudice,) I do not expect, upon several accounts, any good understanding between them, unless God especially put his hand in it. I shall only name two reasons against it: the first is, the king [Darnley] will never humble himself as he ought; the other, that the queen cannot perceive him speaking with any nobleman, but presently she suspects some plot among them. Meantime, the queen reckons to be going to Stirling five or six days hence, and the baptism is appointed to be there on the 12th of this month.

The baptism of the prince took place Tuesday last

¹ Among the other causes of Darnley's misfortunes, he vibrated between two opinions. Like his mother the Countess of Lenox, he was a Roman Catholic, which was one of the chief reasons why Mary was anxious to marry him. When, however, he was ambitious of reigning, and set up a political opposition to the queen his wife, he tampered with the Calvinists, of whom his father had been the political leader since the days of Henry VIII. It is not very easy for a Roman Catholic to disguise his religion; and Darnley, though he had abstained from his own religious worship enough to offend his wife, was vehemently suspected by the Calvinists of hating them in his heart, for which reason several of that party conspired against his life.

here at Stirling, when he received the name of Charles James; it was the queen's pleasure that he should bear the name of James, together with that of Charles, [the king of France's name,] because, she said all the good kings of Scotland, his predecessors, who have been closely allied with the crown of France, were called by the name of James. Every thing, I assure you, was done at the baptism according to the form of the holy Roman Catholic church. The king [Lord Darnley] had still given out that he would depart two days before the baptism,¹ but when the time came on he made no sign of removing at all, only he still kept close in his own apartment.

The very day of the baptism he sent three several times, desiring me either to come to see him, or to appoint him an hour that he might come to me in my lodging [lodging-rooms in the castle;] so I found myself obliged to signify to him, that seeing he was in no good correspondence with the queen, I had it in charge from the most christian king of France my master to hold no conference with him, and I sent to tell him, likewise, that as it would not be very proper for him to come to my apartment, because there was such a crowd of company there, so he ought to be aware there were two passages to it, and if he should enter by the one, I should feel myself compelled to go out at the other.

His bad deportment is incurable,² nor can there be any good expected from him, for several reasons which I might tell you were I present with you. I cannot pretend to tell how it may all turn out, but I will say, that matters cannot subsist long as they are without being accompanied by many bad results.

¹ Probably for fear of outraging the religious principles of his father's party; the only result was, that he was distrusted by both.

² Darnley's bad habit of drinking must be alluded to here.

The queen behaved admirably well at the time of the baptism, and shewed so much earnestness to entertain all the good company in the best manner that in the meantime she forgot all her indisposition. I am, however, of opinion that she will give us some anxiety yet; I cannot be brought to think otherwise, so long as she continues so pensive and melancholy. She sent for me yesterday; I found her laid on her bed and weeping sore. She complained of a grievous pain in her side, and from a concurrence of evils, it chanced that the day her majesty set out from Edinburgh to this place she hurt one of her breasts on the horse, which she told me is now swelled. I am much grieved for the many troubles and vexations she meets with. From Stirling, this 23 of December, 1566.

December 24. Mary Stuart pardons the Earl of Morton and his accomplices.

1567. *January 4.* Darnley is taken ill of the small-pox at Glasgow, whither he had retired. The Queen soon goes to join him, and a reconciliation takes place.

January 20. Bothwell and Maitland go to Wittingham, near the hills of Lammer Moor, to meet Morton, and to confer anew on the means of getting rid of Darnley.

January 31. The Queen brings back her husband to Edinburgh, and he is lodged in a house outside the walls, called the Kirk of Field.

February —. The conspirators fill the different cellars of that house with gunpowder.

February 9. Mary Stuart leaves Darnley at eleven o'clock at night to attend a ball given on the marriage of Sebastian and Margaret Carwood, her servants; and retires a little after twelve to her chamber at Holyrood House.

February 10. At two o'clock in the morning, the house of Kirk of Field is destroyed by an explosion of gunpowder, and the body of Darnley is found in the garden, with that of Taylor, his favourite page.

[The fact that Darnley was a Catholic, is a circumstance strongly tending to acquit Mary of his death; and, at the same time, it offers a reasonable motive for the determination to destroy him evinced by the lords leagued in the Calvinist interest, as Murray, Morton, and Bothwell. The fact that Darnley's mother brought him up a Catholic, and that she was so herself, has not been sufficiently insisted upon in history. An extract in Italian, given by Mr. Tytler, from a MS. in the possession of Prince Labanoff, copied from the original among the Medicis Papers, to which the prince had access, puts Darnley's religious tendencies beyond all doubt. This valuable passage casts a new and strong light, not only on the motives for Darnley's death, but on the manner of it. The original Italian of which this is a translation is in Mr. Tytler's Appendix, vol. vii. p. 369.]

*The Papal Nuncio at Paris to the Grand Duke of Florence.*¹

As to the particulars of the death of the king, the said M. de Morett is strongly of opinion, that this poor prince, hearing the rumour of the people round about the house, and that they were trying, with false keys, to open it, rushed out of it by a door that led to the garden in his shirt, with his pelisse, in order to flee from the peril, and there (*i. e.* in the garden) was strangled, and then taken out of the garden into a little orchard without the walls of the grounds; and then the house was destroyed by fire [blown up,] to kill the rest that remained within, that they might not guess how the king came to be found dead in his shirt, with his

¹ After stating the arrival of Father Edmonds and M. de Morett, the ambassador, at Paris, the writer proceeds thus to narrate the murder of Darnley.

pelisse by his side.¹ And some women who dwell in the vicinity of the garden, affirm to have heard the king cry out, "Ah! brethren, have pity on me for the love of Him who had mercy on all the world!"

And Father Edmonds declared to me, that the king the same morning had, according to his wont, heard mass, and that he had always been brought up by his mother as a Catholic, but, for the desire of reigning, had turned deceptively from the ancient religion. Thus may divine Majesty have mercy on his poor soul

Paris, March 16, 1567.

[Collated and certified by the Archivista, 17th of February, 1840.]

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow at Paris.

Edinburgh, Feb. 10, 1567.

Most reverend father in God and trust [trusted] counsellor, we greet you well.

We have received this morning your letters of the 27 of January, by your servant Robert Dury, containing in one part *sic* advertisement as we find by effect over true,² albeit the success has not altogether been *sic* as

¹ This account exactly agrees with the curious plan of the scene of the murder at Kirk-a-Field and its vicinity, with the king's body, which is drawn with his pelisse lying by his side. This ancient drawing is at the State Paper Office.

² It is of great importance to note that this passage shows that Mary's ambassador in France had sent her intimation from Paris of a plot in agitation, not only against her husband's life, but against *her own*. This salutary warning did not arrive till two days after part of the tragedy was completed by the death of Darnley. The queen through life declared, as she does here, that her death was intended at the same time as that of Darnley, but that she was preserved by the accident of her visit, incognito, to the mask and ball, which she gave in celebration of the wedding of her favourite

the authors of that mischievous fact had pre-conceived and had put it in execution ; an' if God, in his mercy, had not preserved us, as we trust to the end, that we may take a rigorous vengeance of that mischievous deed, *quhill* [which] ere it should remain unpunished we had rather lose life and all. The matter is so horrible and strange, as we believe the like was never heard of in any country.

This night past, being the 9th of February, a little after two hours after midnight, the house wherein the king [Darnley] was lodged was, in one instant, blown into the air, he lying sleeping in his bed, with *sic* a vehemency that of the whole lodging, walls and other, there is nothing remaining, na, not a stone above another, but all either carried far away or *dang* in dross to the very ground stone. It must be done by the force of [gun] powder, and appears to have been a mine. By whom it has been done, or in what manner, it appears not yet.

We doubt not but, according to the diligence our council has begun already to use, the certainty of all shall be *usit* shortly, and the same being discovered, which we *wot* God will never suffer to lie hid, we hope to punish the same with *sic* rigour as shall serve for example of this cruelty to all ages to come. Always, whoever has taken this wicked enterprise in hand, we

servant Bastien. The fact that she was absent from Kirk-a-field that fatal night is the only link of circumstantial evidence against Mary; and this has been urged furiously against her by her enemies; but the visit was perfectly consistent with her gay disposition and the customs of the times: she would have done so if Darnley had never existed. There are few persons who cannot note the time when they have been preserved from death by accident, through some occurrence which has unconsciously led their steps from the path of danger, trifling as Mary's visit to the marriage festivities of her servants Bastien and Margery.

assure ourself it was *dressit* [designed] as well for ourself as the king, [Darnley,] for we lay the most part of all the last week in that same lodging, (and was there accompanied with the most part of the lords that are in this town,) and that same night, at midnight, and of very chance tarried not all night [there], by reason of some mask¹ at the Abbey [of Holyrood]; but we believe it was not chance but God that put it in our head.

We despatched this bearer upon the sudden, and therefore write to you the more shortly. The rest of the letter we shall answer at more leisure within four or five days by your own servant. And so for the present [we] commit you to Almighty God.

At Edinburgh, the 11th² day of February, 1566-7.

February 12. Mary Stuart issues a proclamation, offering a reward to those who shall furnish such information as will lead to the discovery of the murderers.

February 15. Murray, who had quitted the Court on the evening of the murder, upon pretext of visiting his wife, returns and takes his place in the Council.

¹ At the festivities of the marriage of her servants, Bastien and Margery, which, it must be observed, took place at her own Palace of Holyrood, whither she had a right to go without any breach of etiquette; the mask was given at her own expense, and under her own roof. Bastien and Margery followed her faithfully in all her fortunes, and both served her in her captivity at Sheffield. See list of her attendants in Lodge's *Illustrations of English History*, vol. i., and the list with comments, in Cecil's hand-writing, in the State Paper Office, where their names occur.

² This letter was originally written in Scotch, by one of the queen's secretaries; but the diction and orthography were such as to render it very obscure to the general reader. No word has been radically altered in the transcription into English. It was evidently begun on the 10th of February, and not concluded till the next day, when it was dated. If Mary had had any evil intentions against poor Darnley, she must have given some hint of them to her chief confidant the Archbishop, to whom this letter is addressed.

February —. Bothwell is generally accused of being the murderer of the King; and several anonymous placards, posted in the night, give the names of the accomplices.

February 20. The Queen convokes a Parliament to bring to trial the supposed murderers.

March 24. The Earl of Lenox, father of Darnley, formally accuses Bothwell, and the 12th of April is fixed upon for his trial.

April 11. The Earl of Lenox, intimidated by the minions of Bothwell, proposes the adjournment of the trial, and does not go to Edinburgh.

April 12. The Court of Justice, at which the Duke of Argyle presides, paying no attention to the request of the Earl of Lenox, refuses to adjourn the trial, and declares Bothwell innocent. Murray is again absent.

April 14. Mary Stuart restores to Huntly his confiscated estates, and confirms the donations previously made to Murray, Bothwell, Morton, Crawford, Caithness, Rothes, Semple, Herries, Maitland, and others.

April 19. Memorial of the Scotch nobles in behalf of Bothwell, praying the Queen to marry him.

Copy of the Bond given to the Erle Bothuile, [Bothwell,] wherein is contained Consent to the Queen's Marriage.

We under subscribed, understanding that, although the noble and mighty Lord James Erle Bothuile, Lord Haillis, Chreichton, and Liddesdale, great Admiral of Scotland and Lieutenant to our Souereign Lady over all the Marches¹ thereof, being not only bruited and calumniated by placards privily affixed on the public places of the church of Edinburgh, and otherwise slandered by his evil willers and privy enemies, as act and part of the heinous murther of the King the Queen's Majesty's late husband, but also by special letters sent to her highness by the Earl of Lenox delated of the same cryme, who in his letters earnestly craved and desired the said Earl of Bothuile to be tried of the said murther, he by condigne inquest and assise of certain noblemen his

¹ Which responsible station he had held before Mary was born.

peeres and other Barons of good reputation is found innocent and guiltless of the said odious crime objected to him and acquitted conformably to the laws of this Realm, who also for further trial of his part hath offered himself ready to defend and maintain his innocence against all that will impugn the same by the laws of arms and hath not omitted for the perfect trial of his accusation, what any nobleman in honour or by the laws ought to accomplish. And we, considering the antiquity and nobleness of his house, the honourable and good service done by his predecessors, and specially himself, to our Sovereign and for the defence of her highness' realm against the enemies thereof, and the amity and affection which hath so long existed betwixt his house and every one of us and our predecessors, and herewithal seeing how all noblemen being in reputation, honour and credit with their Sovereign are commonly subject to sustain as well the vain reports of the inconstant people as the accusations and calumnies of their adversaries . . . of their places and . . . which we of duty and friendship are . . . to repress and withstand. Therefore oblige us, and each one of us, upon our honour, faith, and troth in our bodies, as we are noble men and well could answer to . . ., that in case hereafter any manner of persons in whatsoever manner shall insist further to the slander and calumny of the said Earl of Bothuile as participant act and part of the said heinous murther, whereof ordinary justice hath acquitted him, and for the which he hath offered to do his devoir by the law of armes in manner above . . . and one of us by our selves, our kin, friends, servants, assisters, and partakers, and all that will doe for us, shall take true lawful place and upright part with him to the defence and maintenance of his quarrel, with bodies, heritages, and goodes, against his privy and

public calumniators by-past or to come, or any others presuming any thing in word or deed to his reproach, dishonour, or infamy. In moreover weighing and considering the time present, and how the Queen's Majesty our Sovereign is now destitute of husband, in which solitary state the common weal of this our native country may not permit her highness always to remain and indure, but at sometime her highness in appearance may be inclined to yield to the marriage; therefore, in case the . . . affectionate and faithful service of the said Erle done to her Majesty from time to time and his other good qualities and behaviour may move her Majesty safer to humble herself (as preferring one of her own born subjects unto all foreign princes) to take to husband the said Erle B. and every one of us under subscribed upon our honours, truth, and fidelity oblige us not only to permit but to advance and forward the said marriage to be solemnised complete betwixt her highness and the said noble Lord with our wits, counsel, fortification, and assistance in word and deed, at such times as it shall please her Majesty to think it convenient and as soon as the laws shall allow it to be done. But in case any would presume, directly or indirectly, openly or under whatsoever colour or pretence, to hinder, hold back, or disturb the said marriage, We shall in that behalf esteem, hold, and repute the hinderers, and disturbers, and adversaries thereof, as common enemies and evill willers, and, notwithstanding the same, take part and fortify the said Erle to the said marriage as far as it please our said Sovereign Lady to allow, and therein shall . . . and bestow our lives and goods against all that live or die only. As we shall answer to God and upon our honour and fidelity, and in case we do the contrary never to have reputation, honesty, or credit in our time hereafter, but be accounted unworthy faithless Traitors. In wit-

ness of which we have subscribed these particulars with our hands as followeth. At Edinburg the xix of April, the year of our God 1567 years.

To this the Queen gave her consent the night before the marriage took place, which was the viii day of May the year of our God foresaid in this —.

The Queen's Majesty, having seen and considered the bond above written, promised in the name of a Prince that she vows her successors shall never impute as crime nor offence to any of the persons subscribed thereof, their submission or consent given to the matter contained therein. Nor that they nor their heirs shall never be called or . . . therefore. Nor yet shall the said consent or subscribing be any derogation or spot to their honour or they . . . undutiful subjects for doing thereof, notwithstanding whatsoever thing may . . . or be alleged on the contrary. In witness whereof her Majesty hath subscribed the same with her own hand.

The names of such of the Nobility as subscribed the Bond, *so far as Iohn Read might remember*,¹ of whom I had this Copy being his own hand. Being commonly termed in Scotland "Aynsters Supper."

The erles of Murray	Lords Boyd
Argile	Seyton
Huntley	Sinclair
Cassiles	Semple
Morton	Oliphant
Sutherland	Ogilvy
Rothis	Rosse
Glencaren	Herris
Cathnesse	Hume
	Eumermeth
	Eglintoun subscribed not but slipped away.

¹ It ought to be observed that the authenticity of these signatures solely depends on the strength of Master John Read's memory, or political integrity.

1567. April 21. Mary goes to Stirling to see her son.

April 24. On her way back she is seized by Bothwell, near Foulbriggs, and carried to Dunbar, of which place she had given him the command a short time previously. She is detained there for ten days, and then returns with him to Edinburgh.

May —. Divorce of Bothwell from Jane Gordon, sister of the Earl of Huntly, declared, at the same time, in the consistory and the Archiepiscopal Court.

Promise of Marriage given by Mary to Bothwell.

We, Mary, by the grace of God, Queen of Scotland, Dowager of France, &c., promise faithfully, sincerely, and without constraint, James Hepburn, Earl of Boduil, [Bothwell,] never to have any other spouse and husband but him, and to take him for such whenever he shall require, in spite of the opposition of relation, friend, or any others; and as God has taken my late husband, Henry Stewart, called Darnley, and in consequence I am free, not being under the authority of either father or mother; I, therefore, protest that, he having the same liberty, I shall be ready to perform the ceremony requisite for marriage, which I promise him before God, whom I call to witness, and the subjoined signature by my hand, written this * * *

MARY R.

1567. May 12. Bothwell accompanies Mary Stuart to the Toll-booth, where, in the presence of the lords of sessions, she pardons him for the violence he had recently done her.

May 14. The queen ratifies, in writing, the act of the Scotch nobles in favour of Bothwell.

May 15. Marriage of Mary Stuart with Bothwell. The ceremony takes place at Holyrood House.

¹ Though the date of this document is wanting, it is evident that it must have been written after Bothwell's divorce; and, be it also remembered, after the outrage committed by him on the person of the queen, when he had seized her on her return from Stirling and carried her to Dunbar.

Monsieur Du Croc¹ to Catherine de Medicis, Queen of France.

May 16, 1567.

Madame,—The letters that I have written to your majesty, by the bishop of Dumblane, are merely to be read; you can suppose that I did not entrust to him what I would write to you. Your majesties cannot do better than to make him very bad cheer, and find all amiss in this marriage, for it is very wretched, and it is already repented of. On Friday, her majesty [Queen Mary] sent for me; when I came, I perceived an estranged demeanour between her and her husband; for this she wished me to excuse her, saying “that if I saw her sad, it was because she could not rejoice, for she did nothing but wish for death.” [*This was on the day of her wedding with Bothwell, that marriage which general history affirms she desired so much.*]

Yesterday, being shut up in her cabinet with Bothwell, she screamed aloud, and then sought for a knife to stab herself;² those who were in the chamber adjoining the cabinet heard her. They think that if God does not aid her, she will become desperate. I have counselled and comforted her the best I could, these three times I have seen her.

Her husband will not remain so long, for he is too much hated in this realm, as he is always considered guilty of the death of the king. There is here, besides the Earl of Bothwell, but one noble of note, this is the Earl of Crawford: the others are sent for, but will not come.

¹ He was an aged French nobleman, ambassador from France to Scotland. This letter is in the Collections de Harlay, No. 218, at Paris.

² Sir James Melville, in his Memoirs, relates the same fact.

She has summoned them to meet, in a place she has named : if they convene, I am to speak to them in the name of the king [of France,] and see if I can do aught with them ; after saying all that it is possible for me to say, it will be better to withdraw myself, and as I have sent word to you, leave them to play out their game. It is not fitting that I sit there among them [the Scotch lords] in the name of the king [of France.] For if I lean to the queen, they will think in this realm, and in England, that my king has a hand in all that is done ; while, if it had not been for the express commands your majesty laid on me, I had departed hence eight days before this marriage took place. If I have spoken in a very high tone, it is that all this realm may be aware that I will neither mix myself up with these nuptials, nor will I recognize *him* [Bothwell] as husband of the queen. I believe he will write to you by the Bishop of Dumblane ;¹ you ought not to answer him.

I remain, your majesty's, &c.

June 11. Morton and others form a plan to seize Bothwell ; the latter, having been apprized of it, retires with the queen to Dunbar.

June 12. The lords of the Privy Council issue a proclamation against Bothwell.

June 15. Bothwell leaves Dunbar, and meets his adversaries near Carberry Hill ; but the greater part of his friends forsake him, and he betakes himself to flight.

The same day the queen treats with Kirkaldy, of Grange, and surrenders herself to him. She is then brought back to Edinburgh, and is kept prisoner for twenty-two hours at the house of the provost.

¹ The Bishop of Dumblane was the ambassador sent by Bothwell to announce to the queen-mother and Charles IX., his nuptials with Queen Mary.

June 16. Act of association of the Scotch nobles to bring Bothwell to trial.

The same day the Earls of Morton, Athol, Mar, Glencairn, and the Lords Ruthven, Hume, Semple, and Lindsay, sign an order for the imprisonment of Mary Stuart.

June 17. Lindsay and Ruthven conduct her to the castle of Lochleven, the residence of William Douglas, half-brother to Murray, and heir to Morton.

June 23. Villeroy, the French Ambassador, in vain solicits permission to see Mary Stuart. Throckmorton refers him to Elizabeth, but with her he is equally unsuccessful.

June 26. Proclamation of the lords of the Privy Council to seize Bothwell, who, until then, had remained at Dunbar.

June 27. Bothwell sails with three vessels without opposition, and directs his course towards the Orkneys.

The council, on receipt of these tidings, gives some armed vessels to Kirkaldy, who sails in pursuit of Bothwell. He comes up with him, and takes two of his ships.

Bothwell steers to Norway, and is taken by two Danish cruisers. They carry him to Denmark, where he is confined in the castle of Malmoe, for the rest of his life.

*Queen Elizabeth to the Queen of Scotland.*¹

June 30, 1567.

Madame,—Our perplexity is such, both for your trouble and for the occasions thereof, that we cannot find the old way which we were accustomed to walk in, by writing to you with our own hand. And yet therein we mean not you should conceive on our part any lack of our old friendship; wherefore we have sent this bearer,

¹ The original is in Secretary Sir William Cecil's hand. The orthography here has been modernised from the Cottonian Collection. The letter is cold, cruel, and prudish, like all of Elizabeth's letters to Mary distilled through Cecil's pen: the cordial mention of the excellent Sir Robert Melville, (brother to the statesman-historian, Sir James Melville, both patterns of fidelity to Mary,) is the only humane trait in this epistle, which must have reached Mary in her Lochleven prison, and could not have greatly cheered her wretched sojourn there.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, that he understand truly your state, and thereupon to impart to you our meaning at fuller length than we could to your own faithful servant, Robert *Melvyn*, [Melville,] who, though he did (as we believe, according to the charge given him,) use much earnest speech to move us to think well and allow of your doings, yet such is both the general report of you to the contrary, and the evidency of sundry of your acts since the death of your late husband, as we could not by him be satisfied to our desire; wherefore we require you to give to this bearer firm credit in all things, as you would give ourselves; and so we end. From our house at Rychmont, [Richmond,] the last day of June, 1567, the ix. year of our reign.

ELIZABETH R.

*Queen Elizabeth to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton,
her Ambassador in Scotland.*

July 14, 1567.

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Though we think that *causes* [cases] will often change upon variety of accidents, yet *this* [the following] we think for sundry respects not amiss. That as you shall deal with the lords having charge of the young prince [the infant James, son of Queen Mary,] for the committing of him unto our realm, so you shall do well, in treaty with the queen, to offer her that, where [as] her realm appeareth to be subject to sundry troubles from time to time, and thereby (as is manifest) her son cannot be free from peril, if she will be contented her son may enjoy surety and quietness within this our realm, being so near, as she knoweth it is, we shall not fail but yield to her as good safety therein for her son as can be devised for any that might be *our child, born of our own body,*

and shall be glad to shew to her therein the true effect of natural friendship. And herein she may be by you remembered how *much good may ensue to her son*¹ to be so nourished and acquainted with our realm.

Therefore, all things considered, this occasion [opportunity] for her son rather ought to be sought by her and the friends of him, than offered by us; and to this end, we mean that you shall so deal with her, both to stay her in act from inclining to the French practice, which (as is well known to us) is to convey the prince into France, and also to avoid any just offence that she might hereafter conceive, if she should hear that we should deal [treat] with the lords for the prince.

(Signed,)

ELIZABETH R.²

July 14, 1567.

July 18. The lords of the Privy Council propose to Mary Stuart to disown Bothwell. She refuses, being unwilling to render illegitimate the infant with which she is pregnant.

July 24. The queen is forced to sign an act of abdication in favour of her son, and to appoint Murray regent of the kingdom of Scotland.

July 29. Her son crowned by the title of James VI. The French and English ambassadors refuse to attend the ceremony.

August 17. Murray returns from France, whither he had gone

¹ This is a plain hint of the probability of the English succession falling to James, not only by his hereditary right, but as the son of Elizabeth's adoption, according to the offer in the preceding sentence. This document is modernised in orthography from the original in the Cottonian collection.

² This treaty for Mary's consent to deliver her son into the hands of Elizabeth was one of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's mysterious commissions to her, then incarcerated in her Lochleven prison. It is certain that she listened not for a moment to a proposal which, according to her ideas, would have compromised the religious principles in which she assuredly meant her child to be reared.

at the time when Bothwell obtained his pardon, and visits Mary in prison.

August 22. Murray accepts the regency, and issues a proclamation to that effect.

*Queen Elizabeth of England to the Queen of France.*¹

Hampton Court, Oct. 16, 1567.

Having learned by your letter, madame, of which Monsieur Pasquier is the bearer, your honourable intention, and that of the king, my brother, on the part of my desolate cousin, the Queen of Scots, I rejoice me very much to see that one prince takes to heart the wrongs done to another, having a hatred to that metamorphosis, where the head is removed to the foot, and the heels hold the highest place. I promise you, madame, that even if my consanguinity did not constrain me to wish her all honour, her example would seem too terrible for neighbours to behold and for all princes to hear. These evils often resemble the noxious influence of some baleful planet, which, commencing in one place, without the good power, might well fall in another, not that (God be thanked) I have any doubts on my part, wishing that neither the king my good brother, nor any other prince had more cause to chastise their bad subjects, than I have to avenge myself on mine, which are always as faithful to me as I could desire; notwithstanding which I never fail to condole with those princes who have cause to be angry. Even those troubles that formerly began with the king [of France] have vexed me before now.

Monsieur Pasquier (as I believe) thinks I have no French, by the passions of laughter into which he throws

¹ From his imperial majesty the Emperor of Russia's MS. collection of autograph letters, in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburg, No. 3.

me, by the formal precision with which he speaks, and expresses himself.

Beseeching you, madame, if I can at this time do you any pleasure, that you will let me know, that I may acquit myself as a good friend on your part. In the meantime, I cannot cease to pray the Creator to guard the king and yourself from your bad subjects, and to have you always in his holy care.

In haste, at Hampton Court, this 16th of October (1567.)

Your good sister and cousin,

ELIZABETH.

*The Queen of Scots to Catherine de Medicis, queen-mother of France.*¹

Lochleven, 1567 or 8.

Madame,—I write to you at the same time that I write to the king your son, by the same bearer. I beseech you both to have pity upon me.

I am now fully convinced that it is by force alone I can be delivered. If you send never so few troops to countenance the matter, I am certain great numbers of my subjects will rise to join them; but without that they are overawed by the power of the rebels, and dare attempt nothing of themselves.

The miseries I endure are more than I once believed it was in the power of human sufferance to sustain, and live. Give credit to this messenger,² who can tell you all; I have no opportunity to write but while my jailers are at dinner.

Have compassion, I conjure you, on my wretched con-

¹ Mémoires de Castelnau, (additions by Le Laboureur.)

² Who by her next letter to Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, appears to have been James Beaton, the gallant gentleman who finally assisted in her escape.

dition, and may God pour on you all the blessings you can wish. I am, .

Your ever dutiful, though most wretched
and afflicted daughter,

M. R.

From my prison, to Madame,
the Queen of France, my mother-in-law.

1568. In *January* or *February* Mary Stuart is delivered at Lochleven, of a daughter, who is taken to France, and afterwards becomes a nun at Notre-Dame de Soissons.¹

1568. *March* 25. George Douglas, younger son of the lady of Lochleven, makes a fruitless attempt to deliver Mary from prison ; being unable to succeed, he escapes alone.

¹ Dr. Lingard, having repeated, in his *History of England*, the statement of the pregnancy of the queen of Scotland, which had been refuted in 1782 by Gilbert Stuart, I have thought it right to adopt the version of Le Laboureur, a very respectable historian, who makes mention of it in his *Addition to the Memoirs of Castelnau*, vol. i., p. 610, edit. 1731. Be it recollected that the author (whom I quote held a post of confidence at the court of France, (he was councillor and almoner to the king,) and that he had opportunities of learning many particulars which were long kept secret. Besides, it was easy for him, when he published his work, to examine the register of the convent of Soissons, and to ascertain whether the daughter of Mary Stuart had been a nun there. (*Note by Prince Labanoff.*)

The following abstract from a letter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's to Queen Elizabeth, (the original of which is in the State Paper Office,) greatly confirms the observation of Prince Labanoff, on this passage of Mary's history.

"May it please your majesty to understand that Robert Melville returned from Queen Mary at Lochleven, on the 6th of July, 1567, and brought a letter from her written with her own hand to the Scotch lords. She requests, if they will not put her at liberty, to change her place of restraint to Stirling Castle, that she might have the comfort and company of her son ; and if they will not change her from Lochleven she required to have some other gentlewomen about her. To have an apothecary ; to have some modest minis-

*The Queen of Scots to Catherine de Medicis, queen-mother of France.*¹

Lochleven, March 31, 1568.

Madame,—I received the letter with which you were pleased to comfort me in my miserable condition; the bearer of it was cast into prison, where he still continues; judge by that the barbarity of my cruel jailers. I most humbly thank you for the promise you make me, of aiding me in this distress. My wretched state puts it out of my power to offer you any thing in return but my good wishes, but those you have always had.

I have had the utmost difficulty to dispatch this messenger to acquaint you with the reality of my misfortunes, and humbly to beseech that you will take compassion on me.

ter (probably to send her some Catholic priest, not violently bigoted.) To have an embroiderer, to draw such works as she should be occupied about; and to have a *varlet* (valet) of the chamber. She hath written to the lords that I might have access to her. She will by no means yield to abandon Bothwell for her husband, nor relinquish him, which matter will do her most harm of all, and hardeneth these lords, (viz. Morton, Murray, &c.,) to greater severity against her.

In the next paragraph Sir Nicholas Throckmorton declares how imperative the reasons were that caused Mary to insist on retaining Bothwell for her husband. “She hath sent me word that she will in no ways consent to that a [divorce] but would rather die, taking herself to be seven weeks pregnant, and by renouncing Bothwell she should illegitimate her child and forfeit her honour, and she would rather die for it. I have persuaded her, to save her life and that of her child, to choose the least hard condition.”

¹ This, like the preceding letter, is from the papers of Mauvisière, Sieur de Castelnau, then ambassador from France to Scotland: he was said to have been much interested in the fate of Mary Queen of Scots. He was so good and honest a man, that this fact is to her honour. These letters are edited by Le Laboureur, the industrious French historian of the sixteenth century.

I trust in God that the report which my enemies are perpetually persecuting me with is fabulous—that one of the articles of the treaty of peace your son the king has made with his rebellious subjects is, that he shall forsake my interests, and that the Prince de Condé and the Admiral [Coligni] will come to agreement on no other terms. I cannot give credit to tidings so terrible to me, without abandoning myself to the utmost despair.

Next to heaven, I rely entirely on you, and hope you will not forsake me in this my dreadful calamity.

Believe what this bearer will inform you as if myself were speaking; for I have no time to write more, but only pray to God to keep you in his holy protection, safe from the misery which treason brings, which is the portion at present of your unhappy, but

Ever obedient daughter,

M. R.

To Madame the Queen of France, my mother-in-law, from my prison,¹ the last day of March.

¹ At Lochleven. When the unfortunate Mary, in hopes of escaping from Bothwell, surrendered herself at Musselburgh to the forces of Morton, and Bothwell fled, she only exchanged a tyrant whose selfish interest it was to preserve her, for tyrants whose interest it was to destroy her. They led her in triumph through Edinburgh on horseback, where she appeared so covered with dust and tears, that her features were not discernible. On pretence that the mob had plundered Holyrood, they took her to the Kirk-at-field, and shut her up in the house to which her husband's corpse had been carried after his murder, and where it had lain till his burial. All the way they carried before her two standards, on one of which was painted the corpse of her husband murdered, on the other, the figure of her infant on his knees, holding his little hands together, and crying to heaven for vengeance. If she had been a guilty woman, she must have gone mad that night, shut up by herself in this frightful place, without any of her maids or ladies near her. The next morning, Morton's party set her on an ugly sorry horse

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

From my prison (Lochleven) this last day of March [1568.]

Monsieur de Glasgow, your brother¹ will inform you of my miserable situation, and I beg you will present him and his letters, saying all that you can in my behalf. He will tell you the rest, as I have neither paper nor time to write more, unless to entreat the king, the queen, and my uncles, to burn my letters; for should it be known that I have written, it may cost a great many lives, put my own in peril, and cause me to be

they caught by chance in the fields, and hurried her to the castle of Lochleven, which was at that time occupied by the mother of the Earl of Murray, who had concealed her shame as the mistress of Queen Mary's father, James V., by marriage with the Lord of Lochleven, of the house of Douglas. It is by no means improbable, that King James had deceived this lady under promise of marriage, for that king long celebrated the birthday of her son as if he had been his heir: hence all the woes of his poor sister.

Lady Douglas treated the captive queen with the utmost indignity, telling her she was but a mock queen, and that she had usurped the crown from the Earl of Murray, who, she said, was in reality the right heir, boasting that she was the lawful wife of James the Fifth.

Morton, and the rest of the conspirators, had chosen Lochleven Castle as the queen's prison, because it was situated in the midst of a lake six miles in circumference, so that no one could visit her without their privity. They refused admittance to the French ambassador, knowing that the unfortunate queen's chief hope of deliverance would come from the royal family of France. In this prison she was forced, by threats, and even personal violence, to abdicate her crown to her son. Some account of her attempted escape from Lochleven, and final success, are given in the Appendix, vol. ii. This little detail is meant to throw a more lively interest on this curious series of supplicatory letters written by the poor queen from Lochleven.

¹ James Beaton.

still more strictly guarded. God preserve you, and give me patience!

Your old very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

Being now a prisoner, I request you to direct five hundred crowns to be paid to the bearer for travelling expenses, and more, if he has need of it.

*The Regent Murray, [signing himself James Stuart.]
to the Queen-mother of France.¹*

Glasgow, April 20, 1568.

Madame,—I have sent this bearer to the king, to signify to his majesty of the state and prosperity of the king,² my sovereign lord, who is in good health, thanks to God, and of as good and hopeful promise, for his age, as any young prince was ever known to be.

I have, by the same opportunity, recommended to his majesty the [King of France] the state of this kingdom in the minority of my sovereign, not doubting that his majesty will have care of his affairs during that time, as I hope that he will one day taste the fruits of his kindness to his own satisfaction, being assured that it will be pleasing to your majesty to assist and take him [the young King of Scotland] by the hand in every thing that can serve to cement and increase the ancient and indissoluble bonds of amity between these two nations, as I have charged this bearer to declare more fully to your majesty by word of mouth. I entreat you to give him the same credence as you would to myself, if I were in his place. After presenting my most humble recommendations to your good grace, I pray the Creator, madame, to give you, in perfect health, very happy and very long life.

¹ Autograph Collection in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburg, No. 3.

² Mary's infant son, James VI.

From Glasgow, the 20th of April, 1568, from your
majesty's most humble and most affectionate servant,

JAMES STUART.

*Letter from the Regent Murray [in which he signs
himself James Stuart] to the King of France.*¹

April 21, 1568.

Sire,—I have not been either negligent or unmindful of the duty of the tie which binds me to the person of the king, my sovereign, which has kept me so long a time from communicating to your majesty the order of his affairs, since the departure of Monsieur de Lignerolles. I would not willingly forget the ancient amity which has been continued in all times by the most Christian kings, your predecessors, to the kings and subjects of this realm; but knowing the serious troubles that had befallen your majesty, and recommending² too soon after, I considered that you would not have leisure to attend so well to my doings concerning all that is in the time of peace; added to which, the passages [*means of communication*] have been so bad and difficult, that I have omitted it till the present, when it has pleased God to compose and restore your majesty's affairs to some degree of repose and tranquillity; of which being informed, I have with all haste despatched this bearer, to signify to your majesty the state and prosperity of the king, my sovereign, hoping that your majesty will in time be contented with his deportment on your side, and glad of any thing which could tend to his good and advancement. And on my part, in the mean time, I have much wished, by the

¹ Autograph Collection in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburg, No 2.

² Here a hiatus occurs in the MS., which renders the sense incomplete.

same means, to make offer to your majesty of my very humble service; as this gentleman of mine, the bearer of this present, will declare to you more fully by word of mouth, to whom I entreat you to give credit as to myself, if I were in his place; and I shall pray God, sire, to give your majesty, in prosperity and health, very happy and very long life. From your majesty's most humble and obedient servant,

JAMES STUART.

*Letter of the Lord Fleming to the King of France.*¹

April 24, 1568.

Sire,—I have been lately summoned and required by the regent of this kingdom to surrender, and put into his hands the castle and place of Dumbarton; menacing me if I fail to do this, that he will besiege it and take it by force. Nevertheless, for the great zeal and affection that I have for the service of your majesty, and for that of the queen, my lady your good sister and my sovereign, which will never diminish come what will, I have reflected and resolved to keep and defend it (God aiding) to my utmost power. But it is necessary to have succours of men, and munitions [*of war.*] For this cause, sire, I have despatched this bearer express to your majesty, to give you this information, and to supplicate, as I do very humbly, that your majesty will be pleased in this necessity, and for the love of that sovereign queen (who is still in the state which has been made known to you) to succour and aid me with a few of your forces of men, as well as the munitions of war; of which I have sent a memorial by the bearer, that we may have them as soon as possible, while your majesty

¹ From the Autograph Collection in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburg, No. 4. Lord Fleming was one of the leaders of Queen Mary's party, then holding out Dumbarton for her.

shall arrange some plan for the liberation of the queen my sovereign.

In the mean time, sire, I promise and assure your majesty, that I will keep and defend this place faithfully and well to the last extremity, and till it may please your majesty to let me understand your good will and pleasure, that I may await a good declaration.

For the rest, sire, this bearer will give a very full account to your majesty of the state in which he has found the affairs and occurrences in this kingdom now, as I have commanded him. I entreat you very humbly, sire, to do him the honour of believing him, as if it were myself.

I pray God, as I do all my life, to give you, sire, in perfect health, very long and very happy life.

From Dumbarton, this 24th day of April, 1568.

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

FLEMYNG.

The Queen of Scots to Catherine de Medicis.

From my prison, Lochleven, May 1st, 1568.

Madame,¹

I send to you by this bearer, and by the same opportunity I write to the king, your son. He [*the bearer*] will tell you more at length, for so closely am I watched that I have no leisure but while they dine or when they sleep, when I rise, [*i. e. to write by stealth,*] for their girls sleep with me—this bearer will tell you all. I implore you to credit him, and to recompense him, even as I would myself.

I pray that both of you [*viz. King Charles IX. and Queen Catherine*] will have pity on me; for, if you do

¹ Dubrowski Collection, No. 31.

This is a faithful translation of Miss Porter's transcript from the autograph letter which is in French. A passage in this letter is alluded to in the Appendix, vol. ii.

not take me by force, I shall never go from hence, of that I am sure; but, if you will please to send troops, all the Scotch will revolt against Mora and Mirton, [*Murray and Morton*,] if they have but the means of gathering themselves together.

I entreat you will give belief to this bearer, and hold me in your good graces, and pray to God that—"

1568. *May 2.* Mary contrives to escape from Lochleven by the aid of young William Douglas, aged sixteen. Beaton, brother to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and George Douglas,¹ who had concealed themselves in the environs, conduct her to West-Niddrie, the residence of Lord Seaton.

May 3. She arrives safely at Hamilton Castle, and there revokes her abdication. On this news, the royalists throng around her.

¹ Both George Douglas and little Willy were enumerated among Mary's train at Carlisle. (See Cecil's List.) They both remained till long after on the list of Mary's attendants. In 1571, Mary wrote to Queen Elizabeth to ask a protection for George Douglas, who was going into Scotland.

In July 1575, he went to France to obtain from the agents of Mary's dowry there the pension due to him. He saw his queen as he passed through England. This money obtained, he married the Lady Barbery near Lochleven. See Murdin, p. 283.

King James's party, headed by the Duke of Lenox, in 1580, confided to George a message to France, where he was honoured by the title of ambassador from Scotland.

In July 1581, Mary wrote a letter to George Douglas requesting him to induce her son openly to espouse her cause. He acquired the lands of Holenhill in Fife, and Ashieshiels in Tweeddale. He was alive in 1602, because he was appointed by the style of Sir George Douglas of Holenhill, with his eldest brother, as the guardians of Mary Douglas their niece, the heiress of the Earl of Buchan.

George Douglas left a daughter and heiress, who married Lord Dalhousie. Chalmers' *Life of Mary*, vol. i. 278.

The readers of Sir Walter Scott's "*Abbot*" will not be sorry to find, that George, instead of dying at Mary's feet, served her in England, France, and Scotland, and died in honour and prosperity, leaving a descendant.

May 12. Murray proclaims all the partisans of the queen traitors.

May 13. Mary leaves Hamilton Castle for Dumbarton, and meets Murray near Langside. The battle being fatal to her party, she flies to Galloway, and thence to the abbey of Dundrenan, near Kirckudbright.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

(From the abbey of Dundrenan, near Kirckudbright. With this letter was forwarded a diamond, in the form of a heart, which Elizabeth had formerly sent to Mary as a pledge of her amity and goodwill.¹)

You are not ignorant, my dearest sister, of great part of my misfortunes, but these which induce me to write at present, have happened too recently yet to have reached your ear. I must therefore acquaint you briefly as I can, that some of my subjects whom I most confided in, and had raised to the highest pitch of honour, have taken up arms against me, and treated me with the utmost indignity.

By unexpected means, the Almighty Disposer of all things delivered me from the cruel imprisonment I underwent; but I have since lost a battle,² in which most of those who preserved their loyal integrity fell before my eyes.³

I am now forced out of my kingdom, and driven to such straits that, next to God, I have no hope but in your goodness. I beseech you, therefore, my dearest

¹ Buchanan wrote a scoffing epigram on this diamond and letter, but does not mention them in his history, for his object was to conceal all the previous friendly intercourse between Queen Elizabeth and her victim. This letter and anecdote are drawn from the *Life of Mary, Queen of Scotland*, printed at London, 1735.

² Langside.

³ Forty-seven gentlemen of the gallant house of Hamilton were killed in the battle. *Life of Mary.*

sister, that I may be conducted to your presence, that I may acquaint you with all my affairs.

In the mean time, I beseech God to grant you all heavenly benedictions, and to me patience and consolation, which last I hope and pray to obtain by your means.

To remind you of the reasons I have to depend on England, I send back to its queen this token [the jewel] of her promised friendship and assistance.

Your affectionate sister,
M. R.¹

From Dundrenan.

1568. May 16. Mary, in spite of the entreaties of all those who accompany her, resolves to go to England. She crosses the Solway Frith in a fishing-boat, and lands at Workington, on the coast of Cumberland.

May 17. The Queen of Scotland writes from Workington to Elizabeth, giving her a statement of her misfortunes, and entreats her to send for her as soon as possible.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Workington, May 17, 1568.

Madam my good sister, I believe you are not ignorant how long certain of my subjects, whom from the least of my kingdom I have raised to be the greatest, have taken upon themselves to involve me in trouble, and to do what it appears they had in view from the first. You know how they purposed to seize me and the late king my husband, from which attempt it pleased God to protect us, and to permit us to expel them from the

¹ This letter was sent to Elizabeth by Mary's faithful adherent, James Beaton, who had successfully braved every danger for her sake, both in the previous conveyance of her letters to France, and by aiding her escape from Lochleven and Langside. Camden has a curtailed edition of it; but the whole is in the Mauvissière or Castelnau Collection. Prince Labanoff does not mention it in his list of unpublished manuscripts of Mary's letters.

country, where, at your request, I again afterwards received them ; though, on their return, they committed another crime, that of holding me a prisoner, and killing in my presence a servant of mine, I being at the time in a state of pregnancy.¹ It again pleased God that I should save myself from their hands ; and, as above said, I not only pardoned them, but even received them into favour. They, however, not yet satisfied with so many acts of kindness, have, on the contrary, in spite of their promises, devised, favoured, subscribed to, and aided in a crime² for the purpose of charging it falsely upon me, as I hope fully to make you understand. They have, under this pretence, arrayed themselves against me, accusing me of being ill-advised, and pretending a desire of seeing me delivered from bad counsels, in order to point out to me the things that required reformation. I, feeling myself innocent, and desirous to avoid the shedding of blood, placed myself in their hands, wishing to reform what was amiss. They immediately seized and imprisoned me. When I upbraided them with a breach of their promise, and requested to be informed why I was thus treated, they all absented themselves. I demanded to be heard in council, which was refused me. In short, they have kept me without any servants, except two women, a cook, and a surgeon ; and they have threatened to kill me, if I did not sign an abdication of my crown, which the fear of immediate death caused me to do, as I have since proved before the whole of the nobility, of which I hope to afford you evidence.

After this, they again laid hold of me in parliament, without saying why, and without hearing me ; forbid-

¹ It ought to be noticed that Mary herself never casts any imputation on her husband as Rizzio's murderer, yet in her letters, in this collection, she twice mentions the fact.

² i. e. the murder of her husband.

ding, at the same time, every advocate to plead for me; and, compelling the rest to acquiesce in their unjust usurpation of my rights, they have robbed me of every thing I had in the world, not permitting me either to write or to speak, in order that I might not contradict their false inventions.

At last, it pleased God to deliver me, when they thought of putting me to death, that they might make more sure of their power, though I repeatedly offered to answer any thing they had to say to me, and to join them in the punishment of those who should be guilty of any crime. In short, it pleased God to deliver me, to the great content of all my subjects, except Murray, Morton, the Humes, Glencarne, Mar, and Semple, to whom, after that my whole nobility was come from all parts, I sent to say that, notwithstanding their ingratitude and unjust cruelty employed against me, I was willing to invite them to return to their duty, and to offer them security of their lives and estates, and to hold a parliament for the purpose of reforming every thing. I sent twice. They seized and imprisoned my messengers, and made proclamation, declaring traitors all those who should assist me, and guilty of that odious crime.¹ I demanded that they should name one of them, and I would give him up, and begged them, at the same time, to deliver to me such as should be named to them. They seized upon my officer and my proclamation. I sent to demand a safe-conduct for my Lord Boyd, in order to treat of an accommodation, not wishing, as far as I might be concerned, for any effusion of blood. They refused, saying that those who had not been true to their regent and to my son, whom they denominate king, should leave me, and put themselves at their disposal, a thing at which the whole nobility were greatly offended.

¹ Her husband's murder.

Seeing, therefore, that they were only a few individuals, and that my nobility were more attached to me than ever, I was in hope that, in course of time, and under your favour, they would be gradually reduced; and, seeing that they said they would either retake me or all die, I proceeded toward Dumbarton, passing at the distance of two miles from them, my nobility accompanying me, marching in order of battle between them and me; which they seeing, sallied forth, and came to cut off my way and take me. My people seeing this, and moved by that extreme malice of my enemies, with a view to check their progress, encountered them without order, so that, though they were twice their number, their sudden advance caused them so great a disadvantage, that God permitted them to be discomfited, and several killed and taken; some of them were cruelly put to death when taken on their retreat. The pursuit was immediately interrupted, in order to take me on my way to Dumbarton; they stationed people in every direction, either to kill or take me. But God, through his infinite goodness, has preserved me, and I escaped to my Lord Herris's, who, as well as other gentlemen, have come with me into your country, being assured that, hearing the cruelty of my enemies, and how they have treated me, you will, conformably to your kind disposition and the confidence I have in you, not only receive for the safety of my life, but also aid and assist me in my just quarrel, and I shall solicit other princes to do the same. I entreat you to send to fetch me as soon as you possibly can, for I am in a pitiable condition, not only for a queen, but for a gentlewoman; for I have nothing in the world, but what I had on my person when I made my escape, travelling across the country the first day, and not having since ever ventured to proceed, except in the night, as I hope to declare before you, if it pleases you to have pity, as I trust you

will, upon my extreme misfortune; of which I will forbear complaining, in order not to importune you, and pray to God that he may give to you a happy state of health and long life, and to me patience, and that consolation which I expect to receive from you, to whom I present my humble commendations. From Workinton, the 17th of May.

Your most faithful and affectionate good
sister, and cousin, and escaped prisoner,
MARY R.

1568. May 18. Captain Lowther, lieutenant of the frontiers, conducts Mary from Cockermouth to Carlisle, with all the honours due to her rank.

Sir Francis Knollis, vice-chamberlain, and Scrope, commander of the frontiers, present letters of condolence to Mary Stuart, in the name of Queen Elizabeth; at the same time, Lady Scrope, sister of the Duke of Norfolk, is appointed to attend upon her.

Mary again solicits permission to have an interview with the Queen of England. She receives for answer, that she cannot be admitted into her presence, until she has cleared herself from the charge of having participated in the murder of her husband.

The list of attendants who accompanied Mary Queen of Scots to Carlisle was as follows, according to the document at the State Paper Office. Among the names the reader will recognise many of interest in these letters: the explanations, in italics, are in Cecil's hand.

The Bishop of Ross.

Lord Herries.

Lord Livingstone, and Lady Livingstone, (*his wife.*)

Lord Fleming, (*and his wife.*)

Mr. Hamilton, (*master of the household.*)

A Frenchman, (*comptroller.*)

J. Livingstone, (*Master Stabler, and his wife.*)

George Douglas.

Little Douglas, (*William the orphan.*)

Mr. Beaton.

Bastian, (*and his wife.*)

Gilbert Curle, (*A secretary.*)

M. Nawe, (*a secretary.*)¹

The Laird of Whitlaw.

The Laird of Skirling.

Captain Bruce.

A pantler.

A cook, (*the queen's meat was dressed by her own officer.*)

A pattiser.

Marie Seaton.

Courselle.

Mary Bruce.

The Comptroller's wife.

*The Queen-mother of France, Catherine de Medicis, to
Queen Elizabeth.*²

May 26, 1568.

Madame my good sister,—As soon as the king my son and I learned to what state the Queen of Scotland, my daughter-in-law, was at present reduced, and how she had been compelled to retire for refuge into your realm, being pursued by her subjects, as you have perhaps understood, we incontinently despatched the Sieur de Montmorin to express to you in fair words, that being

¹ This is a singular circumstance, since the formal appointment of this man, as secretary to Mary, by Elizabeth's recommendation, did not take place till 1575, at the death of Rollet: either he or his brother must have been previously in this place. It seems certain that if the person called Naw or Nau in history had been Mary's servant at her entry into England, Queen Elizabeth would have urged that fact in the document wherein she so warmly recommends him into Mary's service as the successor of her faithful secretary Rollet, who had died in his situation. See the note appended to the last document in this collection. Our conclusion therefore is, that the *Naw* named here was the elder brother, who frequently went and came on the embassies of Mary, and is known in this correspondence by the name of M. de Fontenay, from the territorial appellation of his estate in France. Probably this elder brother was called M. de Nau, before he inherited Fontenay.

² From the original MS. Cotton. Calig. c. i. fol. 74.

much grieved to see her in this trouble and affliction, it has been a great satisfaction to us that she should have gone and surrendered herself into your hands. We are assured that she will receive all the assistance, favour, succour and friendship that an afflicted princess like her ought to have from you, and that you will remain in the same opinion in which you have been, which is, "that princes are bound to assist one another to chastise and punish the subjects who rise up against them, and are rebellious to their sovereigns." And inasmuch as this touches us to the heart, we ought to be ready to take part for the protection of "this desolate and afflicted queen,"¹ that she may be restored to her liberty and the authority given to her by God, which in right and equity pertains to her and not to another.

I beseech you, madame my good sister, that you would make manifest to every one, especially to the king, my lord and son, how much you desire the authority of sovereign princes to be preserved, and their rebellious and disobedient subjects to be chastised and punished. Above all, that you will use her [the Queen of Scots] with that good and tender treatment that you have promised us, and which we hope from you, and that you will benignantly vouchsafe to her all the aid, favour, and service which she will require for the restoration of her liberty, and the authority that appertains to her.

It is thus that we have commanded and given express charge to Monsieur de Montmorin to say to you more at length, and particularly on our part; the which I pray you to believe, as you would do if it were in my own person.

Beseeching the Creator, madame my sister, after I have presented my affectionate commendations to your

¹ Here Catherine de Medicis adroitly quotes again the words of Elizabeth's own letter to her.

good grace, to give you, in very good health, long life.

Written at Paris, the 26th day of May, 1568.

*Postscript, in the Queen-mother's own hand.*¹

Madame my good sister, I will write you one word to pray you to put me at ease, and to excuse the present from my hand, for I am still feeble from my sickness; but on this occasion I should desire not only to write to you myself, but to see you in person. Not that I doubt your goodness; having no other fear than this, that you will not remember sufficiently that you have often been unjust towards this queen, my daughter-in-law, and how this is a case that touches all princes, and especially a princess who has made me the assurances that you have done, "that, as much as lies in your power, you will make perfect in deeds that which you have shewn to her [the Queen of Scots] in words," which makes me say that she is very happy to be in your kingdom.

Your good sister and cousin.

*The Queen of Scots to the Queen (mother) of France.*²

Carlisle, May 28, 1568.

Madame,—My fortunes are enough known to you, and to me they continue the same. The obligation that I have to serve you all my life (as my will is very much inclined) my cousin M. de Fleming [Lord Fleming] the present bearer, can testify to you when I shall leave³ all that otherwise it might be an inconvenience to you to read. You are entreated to believe

¹ The letter itself is written by a secretary, and without signature.

² The original is one of the collection in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg.

³ Where the hiatuses occur, the original MS. has been torn off.

him, as he has always followed me, which makes it apparent the king, your son, and yourself, have had proof of his fidelity.

I present my very humble commendations to your good grace, praying God that he will keep you, madame, in health, and very happy and long life.

Your humble and very obedient daughter,

MARIE.

From Carlisle, this 28th of May.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Carlisle, May 28, 1568.

Madam my good sister,—I have received two letters from you, the first of which, relating to myself, I hope to answer, and to learn from my Lord Scrop and your vice-chamberlain your natural inclination towards me, which I have always promised myself with certainty, and wish that my affection for you were as apparent as it is sincere, and then you would think your kindness better bestowed, than I could persuade you by my humble

Madam, I am sorry that the haste in which I wrote my last letter caused me to omit, as I perceive by yours, the principal thing which induced me to write to you, and which is also the principal cause of my coming into this your kingdom, which is that, having for a long time been a prisoner, and, as I have already informed you, being unjustly treated, as well by their acts as by their false reports, I wished above all to come in person to lay my complaint before you, both on account of our near relationship, equality of rank, and professed friendship, and to clear myself before you from those calumnious charges which they have dared to prefer against my honour, and also for the assurance I had that, above all things, you would consider that, not being punished for

the crimes committed afore-time against me, which, at your request, I forgave these ungrateful subjects, and restored them to their former state, to the detriment and prejudice of mine, whence it is evident, that out of respect to you, I did what has caused my ruin, or at least very near it With a view to repair the mischief, and to amend the error that has arisen from it, I have despatched my lord Heris, my faithful and well-beloved subject, to inform you fully of all these things, and others concerning which I learned from Messieurs Scrop and Knowles [Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys] that you are in doubt, requesting you to believe him as myself, and forthwith to let me have your answer in writing, whether it would be agreeable to you if I were to come without delay and without ceremony to you, and tell you more particularly the truth about all that has happened to me, in contradiction to all their lies, which I am sure you would have pleasure to hear, as you were pleased to write to me in your letters, that you would take my justification into your hands, till you had replaced me in the state to which Heaven had pleased to call me, and that all princes are bound to support and assist one another.

I send, on this occasion, my cousin, my lord Flemin, a faithful subject, in order that, being assured by you, he may proceed to France to thank the king, Monsieur my good brother, for his and good offices, which I reserve for another time, if I have occasion for them, contenting myself with your aid and support, which I shall feel myself obliged to acknowledge as long as I live, in every way in my power. If, on the contrary, that which I reckon upon does not come from you and from some others, for considerations which I am not aware of, at least I trust that, freely as I came to throw myself into your arms, as my best friend, you will per-

mit me, on your refusal, to seek succour from the other princes and friends my allies, as may seem most convenient to me, without any prejudice to the ancient friendship between us two; and whatever you decide will please you I shall be satisfied with, though one would have been more agreeable to me than the other; for, God be thanked, I have got good friends and neighbours in my so just quarrel; and there is nothing to prevent me from applying to them but this detention, which, to speak freely to you as you do to me, I think rather harsh and strange, considering that I came so frankly into your country without any condition or any distrust of your friendship, promised in your frequent letters; and though I have lived in a manner a prisoner in your castle, for a fortnight since the arrival of your councillors, I have not obtained permission to go to you to plead my cause, as my confidence in you was such that I asked for nothing more than to go to you to make you acquainted with my grievances.

Now I beseech you to consider how important my long detention is to me and for the cause of my ruin, which, thank God, is not gaining ground. Signify then to me the consent of your natural affection for your good sister and cousin and firm friend. Remember that I have kept my promise. I sent you my¹ in a ring, and I have brought you the original, in order to tie the knot more firmly; if you are not disposed to wrong me whom you may believe as you would myself. After this long address, I shall not trouble you further than to present my affection and recommendations to your good grace, and to pray God to grant you, madam, health, and a long and happy life.

Your very faithful and

Karlil, the xxviii of May, 1568.

¹ Probably *heart*.

Since writing my letter, I have received certain intelligence, that the gentlemen who call themselves regent and governors, have issued their proclamation for coming to take and demolish all the houses of the loyal people, and securing their persons, &c. to prosecute by violence, for you will interfere and maintain this just quarrel. The bearer will more fully explain to you the necessity for this, and I . . . , . . . forget also to thank you for the good reception which I have met with in your country, and especially from the deputy of your warden, Master Loders, [Lowther,] who, as far as a servant can do without the express command of his master, has received me with the greatest courtesy, for which I beg you to let him be repaid¹

*The Queen of Scots to Sir William Cecil.*²

Carlisle, May 28, 1568.

Master Cecile,—The character which you have of being the friend to equity, and the sincere and faithful service which you render to the queen madam my good sister,

¹ The chasms in this postscript are so frequent, with only three or four intervening words, that a considerable part of it is utterly unintelligible. The Master Loders mentioned in it was Mr. Lowther, a member of the distinguished family since ennobled by the title of Lonsdale. He was deputy-warden of the March in which the queen landed, and claimed her as his prisoner, because she had come into his district without a passport. She was likewise claimed by the Earl of Northumberland, as lord warden, who went to Carlisle to demand her delivery: and on the refusal of Lowther, the haughty noble called him varlet, and said that he was too low a man to pretend to such a charge. A letter from the deputy-warden to Cecil states, that the gentlemen and sheriffs of Cumberland and Westmoreland had been very remiss in their duty, and that very few of them had come forward on the queen's arrival, although he had warned the country "by beacon."

² The most celebrated of the ministers of Queen Elizabeth, afterwards created Lord Burghley or Burleigh.

and consequently to all those who are of her blood and of like dignity, induce me in my just cause to address myself to you above all others in this time of my trouble, to obtain the benefit of your good counsel, which I have commanded my lord Hereis, the bearer of this, to explain to you at length. So referring to him, after commending myself to your wife and you, I will pray God to have you in his holy keeping. From Carlisle this xxviii.¹

Your very good friend,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Carlisle, June 13, 1568.

Madam my good sister,—I thank you for the disposition which you have to listen to the justification of my honour, which ought to be a matter of importance to all princes, and especially to you, as I have the honour to be so near of kin to you. But it seems to me, that those who persuade you that my reception would turn to your dishonour manifest the contrary. But alas, madam, when did you ever hear a prince censured for listening in person to the grievances of those who complain that they have been falsely accused? Dismiss, madam, from your mind, the idea that I came hither to save my life ; neither the world nor all Scotland has cast me out ; but to recover my honour, and to obtain support to enable me to chastise my false accusers, not to answer them as their equal, for I know that they ought not to enter into engagements against their sovereign, but to accuse them before you, that I have chosen you from among all other princes, as my nearest kinswoman and perfect friend, doing as if I supposed it an honour to be called the queen restorer, who hoped to

¹ The month is wanting ; it must have been May, 1568.

receive this kindness from you, giving you the honour and the glory all my life, making you also thoroughly acquainted with my innocence, and how falsely I have been led.

I see, to my great regret, that I am mistaken. You say that you are counselled by persons of high rank to be guarded in this affair. God forbid that I should be cause of dishonour to you, when it was my intention to seek the contrary! Wherefore, if you please, as my affairs require such great haste, let me see if the other princes will act in the same manner, and then you cannot be blamed. Permit me to seek those who will support me without any apprehension of that sort, and take what security you will of me when I shall afterwards place myself again in your hands. Though I think you would not desire that, when replaced on my throne, my honour restored, and all foreigners out of the country, I shall come to plead my cause before you, and to justify myself for the sake of my honour and of the friendship which I bear you, and not for the satisfaction I should have in answering false subjects; or even sending for me without giving credit, as it seems you do, to those who are not worthy of it. Grant me your favour and assistance first, and then you shall see whether I am worthy. If you find that I am not, and that my demands are unjust or to your prejudice, or contrary to your honour, it will then be time to get rid of me, and to let me seek my fortune without troubling you. For, being innocent, as thank God I know I am, are you not doing me wrong to keep me here, on getting out of one prison, as it were, in another, encouraging my false enemies to persevere in their lying ways, and disheartening my friends by delaying the assistance promised them from other quarters, if I wished to employ it? I have all the good men on my side, and my

detention may bring ruin upon them, or cause them to change their sentiments, and then there will be a new conquest to make. For your sake, I pardoned those who are at this moment seeking my ruin, of which I can accuse you before God, and further delay will undo me Excuse me, it is to me a matter of the utmost importance. I must speak to you without dissimulation. You have admitted into your presence a bastard brother of mine, who fled from me,¹ and you refuse me that favour, and I feel assured, that the juster my cause the longer it will be delayed; for it is the remedy of a bad cause to stop the mouths of its adversaries; besides, I know that John Wood was commissioned to procure this detention, as their most certain remedy in an unjust quarrel and usurpation of authority.

Wherefore, I beseech you, assist me, binding me to you in every thing, or be neuter. And permit me to try what I can do elsewhere, otherwise, by delaying matters, you will injure me more than my very enemies. If you are afraid of blame, at least, for the confidence that I have placed in you, do nothing either for or against me, that you do not see that I would do for my honour, being at liberty. For here I neither can nor will answer their false accusations, though, out of friendship and for my pleasure, I would cheerfully justify myself to you, but not in the form of a trial with my subjects, if they bark at me with my hands tied. Madam, they and I are not companions in any thing; and if I were to be kept here still longer, I would rather die than make myself such.

Now, speaking as your good sister, let me beseech you, for the sake of your honour, without further delay, to send back my lord Heris, with the assurance that

¹ The Earl of Murray.

you will assist me, as he has requested you in my name; for I have no answer either from you or from him, nor your license as above. I beseech you also, since I am come to place myself in your hands, in which I have been detained so long without having any certainty, to order my Lord Scrup to allow my subjects to have access, if only one, two, or three, to come and return, and to bring me intelligence about my subjects, otherwise it would be condemning me and my defenders. God grant that you may listen to what I had intended to say to you briefly; I should not have troubled you at such length, though I do not blame you in the least for these underhand practices against me; but I hope, notwithstanding all their fair offices and falsely-coloured speeches, that you will find me a more profitable friend than they can be to you. I shall say nothing particular but by word of mouth. Wherefore I shall conclude with my humble commendations to your good grace, praying God to grant you, madam my good sister, health, and a long and very happy life.

From Carlil, the xiii of June, 1568.

Your good sister and cousin,

MARY R.

1568. *June 21.* M. de Montmorin arrives at Carlisle on the part of Charles IX., and returns to London with letters for the Queen of England, the King of France, and Catherine de Medicis.

June —. At the commencement of Mary Stuart's sojourn at Carlisle, she is treated with great respect; but Lord Scrope adopts, by degrees, severe measures, treating her at last as a prisoner.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elisabeth.

Carlisle, June 26, 1568.

Madam my good sister,—The more I look forward, the more I feel convinced of your good inclination towards me, although the effects here are all contrary. Would

to God I could have spoken to you two hours before Medlemur,¹ or after, on the subject of the letters which I sent you the other day, as well as on other matters which I have long had at heart, and which, perhaps, might have been of advantage to you! But I must return to my subject. Medlemur says, he gave it as his opinion that only the houses within obtained this, on the surrender of the place, as the bearer, George Douglas, will tell you, and my lord Heris, to whom the conditions are sent. For the rest, my lord Heris wrote to me that you would permit such of my subjects as have any business with me, to come and go with passports; but it is requisite that you should write to my Lords Scrup and Knoles, as they have refused me this; and my lord *Wurkinton* seized, two days ago, two Scotchmen, whose houses had been burnt, and who were coming to me, in doing which, one was wounded at the time of his being taken: they have since been kept in close durance, and I believe their letters will be taken from them.

I beseech you to consider: my enemies are in the field, and strengthened, and determined, they say, upon ruining all my adherents, and not to commit their con-

¹ He is called Mydlemore in the letters of Sir Francis Knollys, to whom, conjointly with Lord Scrope, the custody of Mary's person had been committed by Queen Elizabeth. Chalmers calls him Middlemore. He arrived on the 13th of June at Carlisle, had a long conference with the Queen of Scots on the following day, and then proceeded to Scotland on a mission to the Regent Murray. The latter had meanwhile forwarded to Elizabeth, by his secretary John Wood, copies and translations of the love-letters, sonnets, and other papers, alleged to have been addressed by Mary to Bothwell before her marriage with him, which are said to have been found in a silver-gilt casket, belonging to her in the castle of Edinburgh, and which, from the evidence that has been adduced by different writers, must be regarded as forgeries.

cerns to you, but even to lay before you charges against me. On the other hand, I am confined here as in a prison; my servants are treated with severity, and my hands, as it were, completely tied, not having permission to receive the requisite intelligence, while they are seeking favour with your council; and I address myself to you alone, or to those whom it pleases you to appoint.

I have been told that I am to be removed hence; this would put a stop to all my business, wherefore I answered, "I will not stir;" being sure that you would either send to bring me to you, or give me liberty to go as freely as I came; for you would not favour those who refuse to make you judge of their actions, and who try clandestinely to injure me, if your conscience and honour had not better consideration than to permit you to be misled by their wicked inventions.

Now, I beseech you, since you see that subjects favour subjects, you, a queen, my sister and cousin, to favour your equal. My lord Heris will inform you more fully what treatment I receive, and how little favour, which urges me to beseech you will write these lords here to give a safe-conduct to two of my most faithful subjects, and to command that those who come on my affairs may have permission to pass to and fro; and if in any thing they infringe your laws, they shall be responsible, and I for them.

So referring to my lord Heris, I request you to give your passport favourably to this gentleman,¹ and to countenance him, so that it may be known how agreeable to you is the service which he has rendered me. He is going to pass some time in France, to learn the language, and to be introduced to, and in part recompensed by, the king monsieur my good brother, and

¹ George Douglas, mentioned in the early part of this letter, who assisted Mary to escape from Lochleven.

messieurs my uncles, by their command, on account of the desire which they have to know him who has performed a service which is so gratifying to them. I have, therefore, given him his *congé*, seeing that I have no need here of so many of my good servants. He wishes to be gone, for he has no business to attend to, at least not for me, but merely his own pleasure.

Again referring to my lord Heris for further explanations, I conclude with my affectionate recommendations to your good grace, praying God to grant you, madam, health and a long and happy life.

From Kerlil, the xxvith of June [1568].

Your very affectionate and good
sister and cousin,

MARY R.

*The Queen of Scots to Charles IX. King of France.*¹

Carlisle, June 26, 1568.

Monsieur, my good brother,—Seeing that, contrary to my hopes, the injustice of this queen, or, at least of her council, is preparing for me a much longer sojourn here, than I could wish (if it does not please you to provide a remedy), as you will see by the reports of the Sieur de Montmorin ;² and that I fear to be more strictly guarded for the future, I take this way of informing you of the state, present and past, both of my country and myself, for the last three months. And seeing that Lord Fleming, whom I sent for that purpose, has not been able to obtain leave to pass beyond London, I have despatched Douglas, the present bearer, to make

¹ From the Autograph Collection in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburg, No. 37.

² The French ambassador to the Court of Scotland.

you a full report of all that has happened, and to tell you about my prison,¹ my escape, and my retreat into this realm, with all that I can understand has been done lately in my own country. I particularly beg you to give him the same credit as you would to me, for he has proved himself my faithful servant, having delivered me from the hands of my mortal foes, at the peril of his life, and the sacrifice of his nearest ties of kindred. He desires, to the end, that he may continue to render me service, as he has begun to do, that he may remain for a time in your court, to wait for the assistance that may be provided for me. I entreat you to give him such entertainment as may make it manifest, that he has rendered a service to you in saving my life. I will answer for his fidelity. He requires now to seek for his living in France, for he has left all he had in Scotland. If I am not altogether immured, I yet fear that I shall not receive so much favour here, but that I shall be constrained to send others to you for the same purpose [*i. e. to be rewarded,*] but not one who has performed for me such good and important service.

I would also entreat to recommend Beaton to you, for he has preserved his integrity when he was canvassed by the other party to become one of them. Likewise the poor Lord Seaton, whose life they threatened to take away for the same conduct, nor would they have done less, if Montmorin had not been on his side. Also my Lord de Fleming, who is so well instructed, that if he can get leave to depart, I would recommend him especially. He is one of your old servants, and can briefly tell you as much as I could write.

With my humble commendations to your good grace,

¹ At Lochleven, where she was in the custody of Douglas's mother.

beseeching God to give you, monsieur my good brother, in health long and happy life.

Your good sister,

MARIE.

From Carlisle the 26th of June.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Carlisle, July 5, 1568.

Madame,—Although the necessity of my cause (which maketh me to be importune to you) do make you to judge that I am out of the way ; yet such as have not my passion, nor the respects whereof you are persuaded, will think that I do as my cause doth require. Madame, I have not accused you, neither in words nor in thought, to have used yourself evil towards me: and I believe that you have no want of good understanding, to keep you from persuasion, against your maternal good inclination. But, in the mean time, I cannot choose (having my senses) but perceive very cruel *furtherance* in my matters. Since my coming hither, I thought I had sufficiently discovered unto you the discommodities which this delay bringeth unto me. And specially, that they think in this next month of August to hold a Parliament against me and all my servants. And in the mean time I am stayed here, and yet will you that I should put myself further into your country (without seeing you), and remove me farther from mine: and there to do me this dishonour at the request of my rebels, as to send commissioners to hear them against me, as you would do to a mean subject, and not hear me by mouth.

Now, madame, I have promised you to come to you: and having there made my moan and complaint of those rebels, and they coming thither not as possessors but as subjects to answer, I would have besought you to hear

my justification of that which they have falsely set forth against me: and if I could not purge myself thereof, you might then discharge your hands of my cause, and let me go for such as I am. But to do as you say, if I were culpable, I would be better advised. But being not so, I cannot accept this dishonour at their hands, that being in possession they will come and accuse me before your commissioners, whereof I cannot like. And seeing that you think it to be against your honour and *cousinage* to do otherwise, I beseech you, that you will not be my enemy until you may see how I can discharge myself every way. And to suffer me to go into France, where I have a dowry to maintain me; or at the least to go into Scotland, with assurance that, if there come any strangers thither, I will bind myself for their return without any prejudice to you. Or if it please you not to do thus, I protest that I will not impute it to falsehood if I receive strangers in my country, without making you any other discharge for it. Do with my body at your will, the honour or blame shall be yours. For I had rather die here, and that my faithful servants may be secured (though you would do so) by strangers, than for them to be utterly undone upon h . . . to receive in time to come particular commodity. There be many things that move to fear that I shall have to do in this country with other than with you. But forasmuch as nothing hath followed upon my moan, I hold my peace. Happen what may happen, I have as lief to abide my fortune, as to seek it and not find it.

Further, it pleased you to give license to my subjects to go and come. This hath been refused me by my Lord Scroope and Mr. Knollys (as they say) by your commandment, because I would not depart hence to your charge until I had answer of this letter; though

I shewed them that you required my answer upon the two points contained in your letter. The one is (to let you briefly understand them) I am come to you to make my moan to you ; the which being heard, I would declare unto you mine innocency, and then require your aid. And for lack thereof I cannot but make my moan and complaint to God, that I am not heard in my just quarrel ; and to appeal to other princes to have respect thereunto, as my case requireth ; and to you, madam, first of all, when you shall have examined your conscience before God and have him for witness : and the other, which is to come further into your country, and not to come to your presence, I will esteem that as no favour, but will take it as the contrary, obeying it as a thing forced.

In the mean time, I beseech you to return my Lord Heris, for I cannot be without him, having none of my council here ; and also to suffer me, if it please you, without further delay to depart hence, whithersoever it be, out of this country. I am sure you will not deny me this simple request for your honour's sake, seeing it doth not please you to use your natural goodness towards me otherways. And seeing that of mine accord I am come hither, let me depart again with yours. And if God permit my causes to succeed well, I shall be bound to you for it : and happening otherwise, yet I cannot blame you.

As for my Lord Flemin, seeing that upon my credit you have suffered him to go home to his house, I warrant you he shall pass no further, but shall return when it shall please you. In that you trust me I will not (to die for it) deceive you : but for Donbertan [Dumbarton] I answer not, when my Lord Flemyn shall be in the Tower ; for they which are within it will not let to receive succours, if I do not

assure them of yours—no, though you would charge me withal. For I have left them in charge to have more respect to my servants and to my estate than to my life.

Good sister, be of another mind. Even the heart and all shall be yours, and at your commandment. I thought to have satisfied you wholly, if I might have seen you. Alas ! do not as the serpent that stoppeth his hearing, for I am no enchanter, but your sister and natural cousin. If Cesar had not disdained to hear or read the complaint of an advertiser, he had not so died. Why should princes' ears be stopped, seeing they are painted so long ; meaning that they should hear all, and be well advised before they answer. I am not of the nature of the basilisk, and less of the cameleon's, to turn you to my likeness : and though I should be so dangerous and curst as men say, you are sufficiently armed with constancy and with justice, which I require of God, who give you grace to use it well, with long and happy life.

From Carlile this vth of July, 1568.

Your good sister and cousin,

MARYE R.

1568. *July* 14. Mary is removed, in spite of her remonstrances, to Bolton Castle, Yorkshire, belonging to Lord Scrope.

July 28. Mary Stuart having again rejected the proposal which had been made her several times before of justifying herself before a commission, the English ministers decide upon bringing her enemies to trial, and placing them at her disposal, if they are declared guilty.

In *August* she consents, contrary to the advice of her best friends, to submit implicitly to the decision of Elizabeth's commissioners.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Bolton Castle, August 6, 1568.

Madam,—Relying upon your good will with which I

was made better acquainted by my lord Heris than I had been before, I had resolved not to trouble you again till I had your answer; but my subjects, who had assembled to prevent this pretended parliament, irregularly and falsely summoned, having heard that I wished them to hold a *session d'armes*, have sent to me Lord Squerlin [Stirling], who was at their meeting (as the bearer will more fully inform you), to assure me of their obedience in this as in every other thing, and that the other party would obey you; and as for themselves, I certify that they will not commit any hostilities, and if any one should, it will cost him his life. But he also beseeches me, as I do you, that he may not fare like *de Medlemur*, [Mr. Middlemore,] for my adherents desisted and the others not; wherefore, if you will assure me that they shall obey you, or that you will punish those who break the peace, or be their enemy, I will answer for my party; if not, you will hold them excused, inasmuch as they only seek their own security, in arming themselves on the tenth of this month for this purpose, and to hold their place and mine in parliament, or lose their lives in the contest. Wherefore, I beseech you to lose no time in despatching the bearer, that I may be able to send them the assurance, in your name, that, if the others refuse, you will defend them; and as these points require brief answer, I will not detain you longer, unless to beg you to make up your mind to oblige a queen and such a number of faithful subjects, and a kingdom, without yielding to the persuasions of a small number, who will not be found so worthy. And, thereupon I kiss your hands, praying God to have you, madam my good sister, in his holy keeping.

From *Boton* [Bolton Castle], the vi of August, [1568]

Your very affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Bolton Castle, August 13th, 1568.

Madam my good sister,—At twelve o'clock last night I received your letter, and having, an hour before, seen what you were pleased to write to my lord vice-chamberlain [Sir Francis Knollys] and my Lord Scrup, I had already begun to write to Scotland to command the same that you advise me of by your letters, after perusing which, I made the more haste to despatch one of my servants, who will go to them, even the most distant, and make commandment to them, in your name and mine, according to your letter; but as in the first you say you are informed that my faithful subjects were about to undertake some enterprise, madam, whoever gave you this intelligence is ill-informed, for they have assembled merely to prevent the injustice of the rebels, by which they meant to attribute to them the name they have richly deserved; and as for your subjects, you may be assured that they do not entertain so little respect for my person as to undertake such a thing, contrary to my wish. If I learn that men of honour or high rank assure you that what I say I will quarrel with them, and if others make me out a liar, I will be the first ready to punish them, for representing me as that which I would rather die than be.

As for France, I assure you that I have had no news of what you mention. I wrote from Carlil, when I informed master Knowles, and told him that I hoped you would excuse me till I knew your good pleasure, and having no assurance, it behoved me to seek my ancient alliances: but I assure you that, since the return of my lord Heris, I have engaged in no practices which are in any way adverse to that which you communicated to him. I hope to satisfy you in this.

I have discoursed with master Knowles several times, and have particularly requested him to give you to understand that I am very desirous to have the favour to speak to you, for the purpose of a perpetual assurance to both. I will not urge you on this head, but if I were sure that I should not annoy you, I should, after the return of (whom I beg you to be pleased to send back hither, for I have a great many things that I must despatch), gladly converse personally with you, for our common advantage, and so much the more gladly, as I feel obliged by your demonstration of friendship. When this comes to the point, I will say but one thing: recollect that I have told you that you would never have your if it does not depend on you. I dare not trouble you during your progress, wherefore I shall present my affections and recommendations to your good grace, praying God to give you, madam, health and a long and happy life.

From *Boton* [Bolton], the thirteenth of August [1568.]

Your affectionate and very good

Sister and cousin,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Bolton Castle, August 14, 1568.

Madam my good sister,—I have this morning received letters from my country, which I have communicated to your vice-chamberlain, together with a letter for you from the principal of my subjects, which, having seen the duplicate of it, I was afraid to send to you, because it was devised by them before they heard of your inclination towards me, rather as men warmly attached to their sovereign than as good secretaries towards such a princess: but, on the other hand, seeing that they offer you their service, if there should be an arming,

you will excuse the attachment of the members to their head, and take their offers in good part. I was very glad to find them in the same disposition to be obliged to you as myself, which I have begged your vice-chamberlain to represent to you more at large, and my good intention, which leads me to send you their said letter.

For the rest, Monsieur de Mora [the Earl of Murray] openly declares that he will hold the parliament. My people have already set forward, as the Earl of Hontley [Huntley] is marching; and you will see by that of my lord Heris, how desirous he is to stop them, which I have done; and if they are not prevented from learning my pleasure, I am sure they will obey it and yours. I beseech you, let not the others hold a parliament out of bravado, as they boast they will; or, if they are determined upon it, do not permit them after the excuses are received: for, as to me, I submit to your good and wise discretion, relying upon your promise that, if in any thing they contravene, you will interest yourself no longer for their cause. The report is, that they will not pronounce forfeiture against any one, for they dare not; but, in order to cause it to be said that you have not forbidden them, they are resolved to hold it, that they may be able to answer every one, and allege that it is the same thing as to authorize them when nobody contradicts them. I beg you to consider whom to depute to come hither: that is no business of theirs, for they have already resolved to send four: I would advise too that those despatched be persons of quality; and that, if they hold the parliament, I rely upon your promise; wherefore I should wish you to command that there be none at all, or, if there is, that you would hold them to be violators of what they had promised, and assist me against them, according to your promise.

If you break it, I am sure it would be needless to make further application to you : seeing that I act upon your advice alone, and shall not take any step whatever to the contrary, you would not wish things to turn out to my injury, since I have put myself, my cause, and every thing in your hands. If, on the contrary, I have been mistaken in you, to my prejudice, you will have the blame ; for I have placed my whole trust in you, and deal so frankly with you, that I conceal from you none of my intentions ; and if you would please that I should see you, I would give you a proof of this for ever.

I will not trouble you further than to remind you of your sister, who has made you her protectress, and to beg you to put the best construction on this letter which I send you, and which I should have softened, if it had come open into my hands. So, without detaining you any longer, after kissing your hands, I will pray God to grant you, madam my good sister, health and a long and happy life.

From Boton, the xiii of August [1568].

Your very affectionate good sister and cousin,
MARY R.

I do not send you the private letters of Earl Hontley, because I have shown them to Master Knowles, and he assures me that he will report to you upon them.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Bolton Castle, August 22, 1568.

Madam my good sister,—I have received letters from you of the same date ; one in which you make mention of Monsieur de Mora's [Murray's] excuse for holding his pretended parliament, which seems to me very cold, for obtaining more indulgence than I persuaded myself they would have from your promise : as to not daring to give com-

mission to come without a parliament for their few . . . nobility ; I answer for it that they have not above three or four more, who would so well have spoken their opinion out of parliament, which has not been held for this purpose, but to do precisely that which we should have required to be prevented, namely, the proscription of my subjects for having been faithful to me ; for I made sure, till yesterday, that I had a promise from you that the letter written to my Lord Scrup and Master Knoles should inclose one against them, such as should make them feel. However, I find that I was mistaken, and I am the more sorry for it, because, on the strength of your letter, which they showed me, and their word, I have so openly declared that all the revenge I should desire would be to show the difference between the falseness of their conduct and the sincerity of mine. In your letter too, dated the xth of August, you introduced these words:—¹

“ I thinke you perly upon my sendinge former aduises, will hold no parlement at all, and if they do, it schal be onely in a forme off an assembly, to accord whome to send to this realme, and in what sort, for otherwise, if they shall proceed in mener off parlement, wth any act off iudsgment aguainst any person, I shall not any wise allowet thereoff, and if they shall be so overseen, then you mei thinke the sam to be no oder moment than their former procedins, and by susche their rasche manner of proceedins shall most preiudice themselves, and be assured to find me ready to condempne them in their doings.”

Whereupon I countermanded my servants, making them retire suffering, according to your command, for

¹ Here Mary copies the passage from Queen Elizabeth's letter, but it may be observed she copies the orthography defectively, spelling the words rather by ear than by eye.

being falsely called traitors by those who are really so, and moreover provoked by skirmishes and the intercepting of their letters ; and, on the contrary, you are informed that my subjects have invaded yours. Madam, whoever has reported this to you is not an honest man, for Lord Seifort [Seaforth] and his son are and have been rebels to me from the beginning. Inquire if they were not at Renfro [Renfrew] with them, Nevertheless, to give you a proof of my fidelity and of their falsehood, if you will please to furnish me with the names of the guilty persons, and to support me, I will command my subjects to seize them, or, if you wish yours to do it, mine shall aid them. I beg you to let me know your pleasure. For the rest, my faithful subjects shall be responsible for all that they shall be charged with doing against you neither your people nor the rebels, since you advised me to make them fall back.

As for the French, I surmise that no application was made for them, for I had such hope in you that I should have had no need of them. I know not if the duke received my letters, but I protest to you, calling God to witness, that I know nothing whatever of their coming, notwithstanding what you write, neither have I heard a syllable from France, and cannot believe it on that account. If they are there, it is without my knowledge or consent. Wherefore, I beseech you not to condemn me unheard, for I am anxious to keep all that I promised Master Knoles, and assure you that your friendship, which you are pleased to offer me, will be accepted before anything else in the world, if France stood by to urge me to refuse it, on this condition, that you take my affairs in hand, my sister and dear friend, as my trust is in you. But there is only one thing that troubles me: I have so many enemies who have your

ear, which by word of mouth, all my actions are distorted and falsely reported, wherefore it is impossible for me to be sure of you, on account of the falsehoods that have been told you to alienate your goodwill from me, so that I earnestly desire to have the favour of expressing to you my sincere and warm affection, which I cannot so well do in writing, since my enemies wrong me by giving a false colouring to every thing. My dear sister, gain me ; send for me jealousy on account of false reports of her who wishes only for your favour.

I refer to Master Knoles, to whom I have freely opened my mind, and, after kissing your hands, I pray God to grant you, madam my good sister, health and a long and happy life. From Boton, which I promise you not to hope to leave, but with your good grace, whatever liars may say to the contrary, the xxii of August.

Your good sister and cousin,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Bolton Castle, August 23, 1568.

Madam my good sister,—While others are making unjust complaints to you of my faithful subjects and myself, they and I cannot refrain from preferring a true one, which is, that, to please you, I have ordered all my adherents not to show themselves, but to await their pretended parliament, which, I assured them, would not attempt to do any more than to choose persons to be sent hither ; assuring them, moreover, that you had forbidden it. My people obeyed. As far as can be learned of the others, such as the Earl of Hontlay, they have taken my man and letters, and will not suffer any

to pass, that they may turn them to treasonable purposes, thinking to join the others, who, having received my letters, stopped all of them, without coming nearer to give me occasion for quarrel. Meanwhile the traitors have condemned the honest men, at least part of them, and intend to finish with the others, which is a thing of great importance to me, as they say that they shall be compelled either to surrender to them or go to France.

I place such reliance upon your promise, that I shall have recourse to no other remedy but this, to remind you of your promise, my obedience and confidence in you, and their disobedience; persuaded that you will not suffer so disgraceful a thing as that, for having believed you, I should be reduced to such extremity, as you see by the letters of Lord Heries, whom you will excuse for writing so warmly, on account of the heart-breaking grief it is that honest men should be thus treated. If you would be pleased, seeing the way in which they are proceeding, to make some demonstration to my people that you are, according to your promise, offended with their adversaries, and pleased with the obedience of my adherents, to send for me merely because I wish to submit my grievances to you, seeing that those make me await their coming at their pleasure, and the others at the same time take their advantage, making use of your forbearance to cover their presumption, I should think my patience the more amply rewarded. But, if this does not please you, I am certain that, seeing the acts which they are committing, you will presently tell me to restore order as well as I can, and that I need no other support, my good sister. By this stroke you will show that you make great difference between one who does all he can

against your commands, and her who places implicit reliance upon you, and obeys you.

I beseech you to let me know your determination forthwith on these my requests and complaints. Now your honour and good disposition, lion heart, and authority speak for me, and I shall only add here, that you would have taken it as an insult, if, having thus taken the cause into your hands, my partisans had commenced hostilities; and if the others take messengers and letters, they break treaties, and proceed as though they were legitimate judges, since they transmitted the judgment to me. Whether they are such or not, the further they proceed, and the more they offend those whom you wish to reconcile, I doubt that you will show your generosity to those who pay so little attention to your commands, without so much as considering what they owe you. Wherefore I present my humble commendations to your good grace, praying God to have you in his good and holy keeping. From Boton, the xxiii. of August, [1568.]

Your very affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARY R.

I request you to excuse my bad writing, for, having received these news, I am not so composed as I was before.

*The Lords of Scotland to the Queen-mother of France.*¹

Supposed about August 24, 1568.

Madam,—It is a thing not unknown to your majesty how our queen, your majesty's daughter-in-law, has been unjustly confined at Lochleven for the space of eleven months, and how, after God of his

¹ From the *Porte-feuille* of Petro Dubrowski. Imperial Library, St. Petersburg.

grace had delivered her, the same traitors who had imprisoned her majesty, assailed, in combination, some of her nobles, as she would have retreated to one of her own fortresses, named Dumbarton, where one part of her company was put to the rout, some slain, and others taken, who are still detained captive; and as to her majesty, she being by this opposition prevented from gaining the castle, retreated into England, where her majesty hoped at least to obtain the favour of being permitted to pass into France, to go and seek the succour of the most Christian King of France, your majesty's son, but in this her majesty has not succeeded according to her expectation.

It is not, madam, a new thing to see the realm of Scotland succoured by the crown of France, nor yet that the Scotch have been at all times good Frenchmen. The ancient line and history render testimony to this.

And now, madam, the cause of supplication in this great necessity is such, that succour ought to be granted more than ever; for our queen is not only to be considered as your friend, but your majesty's daughter, of your own educating, both as a queen and a woman.

And foreseeing, madam, that there is not a nation but will make the same attempt, if there is so little danger in the experiments of rebellious and ambitious subjects, we suggest that it is the duty of all princes to succour her [the Queen of Scots], because so doing will be not only a thing pleasing to God, but will assist to repress and punish the ambition, temerity, and treasons of their own subjects, by striking terror into as many of them as show the same faults. Therefore, we very humbly supplicate your majesty to weigh the wickedness of the rebellion of her subjects, together with *the detention of her majesty in England*, and to assist in obtaining the deliverance of her majesty out

of England, and to succour and aid her, through your favour, with the troops of the most Christian king, your son, to subdue and chastise the arrogance and rebellion of an Earl of Murray, and a pack of traitors, his accomplices. In doing which your majesty will render the queen, our sovereign, the greatest obligation ; and also we, the nobles of Scotland, will always be ready to make prayers for your majesty, both now and for the time to come.

We pray the Eternal, madam, to give you in health a long and happy life.

Your very humble and very obedient Servants.

*The principal Lords in Scotland on the Queen's side to the King of France.*¹

August 24, 1568.

The present will be only to bring to your memory the letters that we have written by the Lord de Beaumont, ambassador and chevalier of your majesty's order [of the Holy Ghost], together with our last letters to the city of Largis, of the 28th of last July, in which we have supplicated your majesty to obtain the liberation of the queen our sovereign, and stated our pressing need of your aid and succour, and how much already, for this very long time, *we have required succour of your majesty*. And that *the queen* has been detained captive in England (*there*, where she had thought to find a passage to come to your majesty,) on this we have not had, to our great regret, any answer.

And, forasmuch as, during the absence of her majesty, we have had to this day other injuries from those who have detained her majesty prisoner, and are still trying to usurp her regal authority ; in consequence

¹ From the Porte-feuille of Petro Dubrowski in his Imperial Majesty's Library, St. Petersburg.

of which we supplicate, very humbly, your majesty to obtain that the queen our sovereign may be replaced free in her realm of Scotland, for we are assured that her liberty will not be refused to your majesty, if you once make it appear that you are annoyed at her detention.

Moreover, we supplicate, very humbly, your majesty to succour us with men, money and munitions for the re-establishment of the queen, our sovereign, in her pristine authority, of which she has been despoiled by a pack of wicked and ambitious traitors.

We doubt not that your majesty will accede to our just desires, from the consideration of the ancient amity that has been entwined for so many years between these two kingdoms, and so we hope that it will be agreeable to your majesty, that we are by necessity constrained to seek friendly aid of you rather than elsewhere, for the re-establishment of the queen our sovereign, and to enable us to redress the injuries that we have suffered from a pack of traitors.

Wherefore we pray your majesty, without more delay, to send us a final answer, to the end that we may know by it what we may venture to hope from your majesty.

And after we have presented our very humble request to your majesty, we pray God to give to your majesty in health a happy and long life.

At Dumbarton, this 24th of August, 1568.

Your very humble and very obedient servants,
ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREW'S; HUNTLY; ARGYLL;
EGLYNTOUN; CASSILLIS; ERLI OF CRAUFURD;
JO. ROSS (OR ROSSVILLE); CLAUD HAMILTON;
FLEMING; A. BOYD; SANQUHAR; LORD OGILVY;
HERRYS; ROSS; — OLIPHANT; MAXWELL;
BOYD; CAMBEL.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Bolton Castle, September 1, 1568.

Madam,—Regardless of the favour of any of your people, the suspicions of mine, the false reports which are daily made to you against me, and of those made to me that you favour my rebels, and that you intend to send with the two principal commissioners one who has always been my enemy—setting aside all these said points, I will beseech you to look upon and treat me as your relative and good friend, according to what you are pleased to offer me, and to comfort me forthwith, under this violent tempest of reports, by the assurance of your favourable assistance. I have said what I had upon my heart to your vice-chamberlain, entreating you not to let me be lost for want of a safe port; for like a vessel driven by all the winds, so am I, not knowing where to find a haven, unless, taking into your kind consideration my long voyage, you bring me into a safe harbour. But I need speedy succour, for I am weak with the long struggle in which I have been engaged. Receive me, then, and enable me to encourage the others; for, as for myself, I rely so entirely on your promised friendship that no reports can persuade me to the contrary. Would to God you would do the same by me!

I have spoken my mind to Master Knoles, and begged him to write to you, and to send you the letters from my subjects; to which, as they do not feel that confidence in your good disposition which I am determined to entertain, I would not serve as ambassador. Only hasten, then, my good sister, that I may prevent what might displease you, which I cannot do without your favour, if I were ever so devotedly attached, till I know your good pleasure. I would not thus importune you, but I have something in my head, so that, unless I

have a decided answer, I shall have the boldness to set out to come to you, if I am not taken prisoner by your command. Do not ruin me, I beseech you, for it is my wish to devote my life and heart to you for ever. I pray God to prosper you, and to give me patience and good counsel against so many wicked inventions of this world. From Boton this first of September [1568.]

Your very good and obliged sister
and cousin, if you please,

MARY R.

I beg you to order some liberty to be granted to the poor prisoners, who are so harshly treated, without doing disservice to him; and give orders that the remainder of my rings be not sold, as they have ordered in their parliament, for you promised that nothing should be done to my prejudice. I should be very glad if you had them for greater security, for this is not meat fit for traitors, and between you and me I make no difference; for I should be delighted if there were any that you would like, taking them from my hand, or with my consent, if you found them to your taste.

The Queen of Scots to Sir Francis Knollys.¹

Bolton Castle, Sept. 1, 1568.

Mester Knoleis, I heue sum neus from Scotland; I send you the double off them I writ to the quin, my gud sister, and pres you to du the lyk, conforme to that I spak yesternicht vnto you, and sent hasti ansar. I refer all to your discretion, and will lissne beter in your gud delin for mi nor I kan persud you, nemli in this

¹ See in the Introduction this letter rendered into modern orthography; the original in Mary's hand is in the Cottonian Collection, in the British Museum.

langasg: excus my iuel writin for I neuuer vused it afor, and am hastet. Ye schal si my bel vhuilk is opne, it is sed Seterday my unfrinds wil be vth you. I sey nething bot trests weil. An ye send oni to your wiff ye may asur her schu wuld a bin weilcom to a pur strenger, huar nocht bien acquaintet vth her, wil nocht be ouuer bald to wreit bot for the acquaintans betwix ous. I wil send you little tokne to rember you off the gud hop I heuu in you, gues ye fend a mit mesager. I wald wyssh ye bestoued it reder upon her non any vder; thus affter my commendations I prey God heuu you in his kipin.

Your assured gud frind,

MARIE R.

Excus my iuel writin thes furst¹ tym.

[Bolton, Sept. 1st., 1568.]

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Bolton Castle, Sept. 5, 1568.

Madam my good sister,—I have received great consolation from your kind promises and language used concerning me to the Abbot of Kilvourn, and since from your letter, in which you assure me that you give no credit to the reports made about me. I beseech you always to entertain this opinion of my enemies, which they have indeed deserved, for they seek to injure me in every way, as if they thought they had so grievously offended me that they are ashamed of the action, or make amends by concluding that they are not deserving of pardon. For the rest, you are displeased with my subjects. Madam, they will be manifestly disobedient to me, or they will submit, according to the laws, to

¹ The discovery of this letter fully exonerates Mary from having written the love letters to Bothwell in Scotch. The language here is as much Scotch as English, but it is very different from the love letters, moreover she says here it is her first English letter.

those who call themselves my friends. I cannot answer for Seifort,¹[Seaforth,] for he is against me, nor for his *wardenrie*, only Lord Farnhest² [Fernihurst] has promised that he and his people will obey me. I have written to him that complaints are made about him, and that he should satisfy the governor of Barwic [Berwick] on behalf of himself and all his followers, or I shall be his enemy. I entreat you, if robbers who sell themselves to those who will give them most offend you, let me not have to suffer for it. In time of peace, neither you nor I can prevent violences on the borders, much less at this moment, when he who governs there does not recognize my authority. But consider what I can do, and let me know, and I will do what you think best, and I will employ all my obedient subjects to exert themselves to the utmost. Lord Heris, [Herries] I am sure, will do his duty, and wherever he dares go will make such redress as you shall commission him. I have written to him to this effect. I shall send you his answer, which I think he will bring himself, with the others whose names Master Knoles forwards to you, and who will not fail at the place and time appointed by Farnhest; I will send you his own letter. I have shown mine to my Lord Scrop, how my subjects will assist yours to punish offenders, to which party soever they may belong, if you will be pleased to write to Lord Hondston [Hunsdon] that he may inform them what they will have to do. If a hired marauder could endanger my cause, I should be in a pitiable condition.

¹ The head of the powerful clan Mackenzie.

² A chief of the line of Kerr or Carr exceedingly faithful to Mary. Carr earl of Somerset, the profligate favourite of her son James 1st, was a son of this house; and the original reason of that monarch's partiality to young Carr, was the great obligations owed by queen Mary to his father Carr of Fernihurst. James never forgot his mother's friends at any period of his life.

For the rest, I perceive how disagreeable my coming would be to you ; I shall therefore abandon the intention ; I can answer sufficiently all that can be alleged to you thereupon ; but I will not argue against you. Since, therefore, you have so often admonished me to put confidence in you, and promised sincere friendship, would you seek elsewhere for that which you see clearly by the coming of Kelvourn, who solicited a passport for the duke, offering his service, in order to make it appear to you that, satisfied with your promise, I have but one string to my bow ? I have no doubt you will consider the confidence I have in you, and not make it appear that I should have lost nothing by the change, if I had not despised all foreign friendships, in order to obtain your solid support, and that I have not injured my cause by humbling myself to you ; therefore command ; for when I was in prison, and before the battle, you promised to reinstate me, and when I came and put myself into your hands, could you do less ? I think not ; though your letters are civilly cold. As for the ambiguity of these, although I am persuaded that if you had no intention to oblige me, you would not take upon you the trouble of my affairs, the good or ill success of which will be attributed to you, as either the restorer of a queen or the contrary.

I will cease to admonish you about any thing ; do as you think best, seeing the confidence I have in you. As for writing to you, it would be too long an address, and would require more discussion than could be conveniently carried on by letter. Whenever you think there is any thing wherein I can serve you, I shall be ready to do so, either after your disputes are begun, or after you have, according to your promise, reinstated me in my authority. Meanwhile, I will have patience, contenting myself with offering, in every thing that is in

my power, to devote myself entirely to you without exception, and I promise you that I will not deny you any thing I am fond of, if you are disposed to accept it. In the mean time, God grant me patience, and to his grace and yours I humbly commend myself; and I and my people will be ready on the day appointed to expect your resolution.

At Boton (Bolton) the v. September [1568.]

Your most affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARY R.

I beseech you not to put off the day again, for I am most anxious either to see you, or to return to the country whence I came.

The Queen of Scots to the Queen of Spain.

Bolton Castle, September 24, 1568.

Madam my good sister,—I cannot describe to you the pleasure which I have derived, at so unfortunate a time for me, from your friendly and consoling letters, which seem as if sent by God to solace me amidst so many troubles and adversities with which I am surrounded. I clearly perceive how much I am bound to praise God for our having been brought up, fortunately for me, together in our youth,¹ which is the cause of our indissoluble friendship, proofs of which you give on your part. Alas! what return can I make, unless by loving and honouring you, and, if I should ever have the means, by serving you, as I have always wished to do, and shall as long as I live.

Do not blame me, my good sister, if I have not written to you—for I have been for eleven months impri-

¹ Elizabeth, third wife of Philip II., of Spain, was the eldest daughter of the French King, Henry II., at whose court the Queen of Scots was brought up.

soned, and so strictly guarded as not to have either the means to write, or any one to whom I could entrust my letters. After that, I was ten days in Scotland, and in a castle only five miles distant from my enemies. Since then, I lost the battle.¹ I was obliged to take refuge here, as I informed you by Montmorin. By the way, I kiss your hands for the regret which he told me you had expressed for my misfortunes. But to return to my subject. Don Guzman can vouch for the impossibility, in my situation, either of sending a messenger, or even a letter, with safety; for I am in the hands of people, who watch me so narrowly, that the most trifling circumstance would furnish them with an excuse for serving me a worse turn than detaining me against my will; and, but for this, I should long since have been in France. But she [Queen Elizabeth] has positively refused to allow me to go thither, and insists on directing my affairs, whether I will or not. I cannot give you here all the details, as they would be too long; but I have ordered the brother of my ambassador in France to acquaint the ambassador of the king, your lord, in London, with every particular, that he may write to you in cipher, otherwise, it would be dangerous.

I will tell you one thing, by the way; that if the kings, your lord and your brother, were at peace, my misfortune might be of service to Christendom. For my coming to this country has caused me to make acquaintance, by which I have learned so much of the state of things here, that if I had ever so little hope of succour elsewhere, I would make ours the reigning religion, or perish in the attempt. The whole of this part is entirely devoted to the Catholic faith, and with the right that I have, for this reason, in my favour, I could

¹ The battle of Langside, which induced Mary to seek refuge in England.

easily teach this queen what it is to intermeddle and assist subjects against princes. She is extremely jealous lest this, and this only, should restore me to my country. But she tries, by all means, to make me appear guilty of what I have so unjustly been accused of, as you will perceive from a statement of all the intrigues which have been directed against me, ever since I was born, by those traitors to God and to me. It is not yet finished. Nevertheless, I must tell you that I am offered many fine things to change my religion ; which I will never do. But if I am compelled to yield, in some points, which I have stated to your ambassador, you may judge that it will be because I am a prisoner. Now I assure you, and beseech you to assure the king, that I shall die in the Roman Catholic religion, whatever they may say to the contrary. I cannot exercise it here, because they will not permit me, and, merely for having spoken of it, they have threatened to shut me up more closely, and to treat me with less consideration.

You have adverted to a subject in jest, which I mean to take in good earnest ; it is respecting the ladies, your daughters. Madam, I have also a son. I hope that if the king, and the king your brother, to whom I beg you to write in my behalf, will but send an embassy to this queen, declaring to her that they do me the honour to rank me as their sister and ally, and that they are resolved to take me under their protection, requiring her at the same time, if she values their friendship, to send me back to my kingdom, and to assist me to punish my rebels, otherwise, they will themselves endeavour to do so, being assured that she will never take part with subjects against their sovereign ; she will not dare to refuse them, for she is herself in some fear of insurrections. For she is not greatly beloved by any one of

the religions, while, God be praised, I believe I have gained the hearts of a great many good people of this country since my coming, so that they are ready to hazard all they possess for me and my cause. If this were done, and some other necessary favours, which I have mentioned to your ambassador, being in my own country, and in friendship with this queen, whom her people will not permit to see me, for fear I should lead her into a better track, (for they are of opinion that I should govern her if I studied to please her,) I might then hope to bring up my son in devotion to your interest ; and if it please God to be merciful to me, and, with your assistance, to gain for him that which belongs to us, I am sure that, if you grant him one of your daughters, whichsoever you please, he will be but too happy. They have almost made an offer to naturalize him, and for the queen to adopt him as her son. But I have no wish to give him up to them, and to resign my rights, the consequence of which would be to render him of their wretched religion. If I had my choice, I should much rather send him to you, and risk every danger to re-establish the ancient and good faith throughout this whole island. I beg you will keep this secret, for it might cost me my life ; yet, whatever you hear, be assured that I shall never change my opinion, however I may be compelled to accommodate myself to circumstances.

I will not trouble you at present with a longer letter, but merely beseech you to write in my behalf. Should I and this queen come to terms, I will write and inform you. But it is necessary that your ambassador should be commanded to correspond with me in cipher, and to send some one to visit me at times, as my attendants dare not go to them.

I humbly recommend myself to your favour, praying

God to give you health and a long and happy life. I have much more to write to you, but I dare not ; I am in a fever about this. I beg you to send me some one in your especial name, and one in whom I can place confidence, so that I may make known to him all my intentions. From Boton, this 24th September, 1568.

Your very humble and obedient sister,

MARY.

1568. *October 4.* The conferences are opened at York : the Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, commissioners on the part of Elizabeth ; Lesly the Bishop of Ross, the Lords Livingston, Boyd, and Herries, for Mary Stuart ; and on the part of the rebels, Murray, Morton, Lindsay, Maitland, and the Bishop of Orkney.

October 8. The representatives of the Queen of Scotland accuse Murray and his accomplices of having taken up arms against her, of detaining her a prisoner at Lochleven, and of constraining her by force and menaces to sign the act of abdication.

October 10. The conferences are suspended by the English ministers.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Bolton Castle, Oct. 8, 1568.

Madam my good sister, I have been informed by my cousin, the Duke of Chatelherault,¹ of the report which has been made to you concerning me, which has given you some displeasure. Madam, I am certain that if you had heard the conversation between Master Knoles and me, you would not have taken it amiss, as you have done ; and I swear to you that I have not seen a single stranger, nor did I expect to be copied in any thing. Madam, since I have been in your country, I will defy the world to say that I have offended you in

¹ The Earl of Arran, who was Regent of Scotland, till the queen dowager, Mary's mother, assumed that authority, when he repaired to France, where the king created him Duke of Chatelherault.

deed or word, confiding implicitly in you, wherein I am sure you will not find yourself deceived, and have lived according to your laws, without giving any one occasion to transgress them. I shall refer to Master Knoles himself, who, I am sure, will not have the conscience to assert that I said any thing to offend you, as I have commanded Boton¹ to repeat to you at length the whole conversation which took place between us; and laughing on my part also at my I entreat you not to blame me for promise that I am in no-wise to the affairs which have give credence to the said Boton, as you would do to me on all points, for I have charged him to explain to you several points in my name.

For the rest, I hear that Ricarton is taken by your command: I am sorry for it, for, having come back to me, the least motive would always have delivered him to you, and all my servants, for, thank God, I have no delinquents among them: but if the like severity were exercised towards the others, you would have had juster cause to detain the greater part of those who are at Fore, for which matter they accuse other people. I have no doubt that, as he was coming with letters concerning my affairs, you will send them to me, and him too, and I will give him up again whenever you please, if he is accused of any thing besides having assisted to get me out of prison.

So, referring to my cousin, the duke, to whom I have written fully, and to Boton, I will not trouble you further, unless to beseech you not to listen to any thing against us, for, while, according to promise, you are a good sister and friend to me, I never will do any thing

¹ Probably James Beaton, there is no other of her attendants whose name bears any analogy to the word *Boton*, which is the manner in which she usually spells Bolton the place of her sojourn, and the castle of Lord Scrope.

to displease you for any person whatsoever ; whereupon I kiss your hands, praying God to grant you, madam my good sister, a long and happy life.

From Boton, the viii of October [1568.]

Your very affectionate and good

Sister and cousin,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to M. de la Forest.

Bolton Castle, Oct. 22, 1568.

To Monsieur de la Forest, Ambassador in England of
Monsieur my good Brother.

Monsieur de la Forest,—Since the commencement of the conferences, opened, as you have heard, and already continued for several days, at York, the Queen of England, madam my good sister, has desired that I would send some of my commissioners to her, for the purpose, I believe, of bringing our affairs to a more speedy settlement, agreeably to her wish. I have therefore sent the Bishop of Rosse,¹ Lord Herries, and Kilvourn, to hear what she will be pleased to say to them, and have charged them, and the said Bishop in particular, to inform you of what they have already negociated in the said conferences, as well as to confer with you upon the proposals which may be made them while there. I beg of you, by the good-will and affection I know you to entertain for me, to tell them freely your opinion on the subject. I pray God, Monsieur de la Forest, to have you in his holy keeping. From Bowton, [Bolton] this xxij of October, 1568.

Your very good friend,

MARY.

¹ Lesly, Bishop of Ross, ambassador of Mary Stuart in England and one of her representatives at the conferences held at York.

*The Bishop of Ross to the Queen of Scots.*¹

York, October, 1568.

The Key to the ciphers of this letter is as follows, endorsed on the letter which seems to have been intercepted.

A.—*Maitland of Lethington.* Secretary of State for Scotland, and now one of the commissioners of the regency against her, but at this time intriguing with her party for her restoration by means of her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk.

B.—*The Duke of Norfolk.* Ostensibly the head of the commission sitting at York to try the guilt or innocence of Mary, but secretly her suitor.

C.—*The day the Duke of Norfolk rode to Cawood.*

D.—*Queen Elizabeth.*

E.—*The Queen of Scots' commissioners, viz., Bishop of Ross, Lord Herries, &c.*

F.—*The Earl of Murray.* Regent of Scotland for the young king, and the head of the commissioners endeavouring to prove Mary guilty.

The Letter (to which the ciphers refer.)

Please your majesty, I conferred at length with A. (Maitland of Lethington,) *ane* great part of a night, who assured me he had reasoned with B. (the duke of Norfolk,) this Saturday at C. (awood)² on the field, who *determinate him*, (convinced him,) that it was the D. (Queen of England's,) determined purpose not to end

¹ Cottonian MS. Calig. c. i. endorsed in Cecil's hand. The explanations of the dramatis personæ afforded by the Key is by the editor. The other cypher G., which occurs at the end of the letter, is not explained, but the editor feels certain it means the English Privy Council. The document affords a good specimen of the style of cypher letters which bore so notable a share in the intrigues of that age.

² Cawood is one of the Archbishop's palaces a few miles from York.

your cause at this time, but to hold the same in suspense, and did that which was in her power to make the E. (Murray's commissioners,) pursue extremity,¹ to the effect that F. (Murray,) and his adherents might utter all they could to your dishonour, to the effect, to cause you to come in *disdain* (contempt,) with the whole subjects of this realm, (England,) that ye may be the mair unable to attempt any thing to her disadvantage.

And to this effect is all her intention, and when they have produced all they can against you, the D. (Queen of England,) will not *appoint* (decide) the matter instantly, but transport you up in the country, and retain you there, till she think time to shew you favour, which is not likely to be hastily, because of your uncles in France, (the family of Guise,) and the fear she has herself of your being her *unfriend*, (enemy.)

And therefore, their counsel² is, that ye write *ane* writing to the Queen of England, meaning that ye are informed that your subjects, which has offended you³ this is in effect—that your majesty hearing the state of your affairs as they proceed at York, was informed that she, the Queen of England was informed, “that you, the Queen of Scotland, could not *gudely remit* (thoroughly forgive) your subjects in such sort that they might credit you hereafter,” and this was a great cause of the stay of this controversy to be ended; therefore persuade her D. (English majesty,) not to trust any who had made such narration. But like as ye had *rendered you* (surrendered yourself) in her hands, as most tender to you of any living, so (you) pray it her to take na opinion of you, but that ye wad use her council in

¹ Viz. Bring forward the silver gilt casket and letters they had prepared.

² i. e. The counsel of Norfolk and Secretary Maitland.

³ Here seems an hiatus which has affected the sense of the context.

all your affairs, and wad prefer her friendship to all others, as well uncles as others, and assure her ye wald keep that thing ye wald promise to your subjects by her advice.¹

And if D. (Queen Elizabeth) discredit you, ye wald be glad to satisfy her in that point by removing within her realm in secret and quiet manner where her G. (probably Privy Council,) pleased, until the time her G. (Privy Council) were fully satisfied, and all occasion of *discredit* (distrust) removed from her. So that in the meantime your realm (Scotland) were holden in quietness; and your true subjects restored and maintained in their own estate, and *sic* other things tending to this effect.

And² ——— affirms that they believe this may be occasion to cause her credit you that ye offer so far; and it may come, that within two or three months she (Queen Elizabeth) may become better-minded to your grace, for now she is not well-minded and will not shew you any pleasure for the causes aforesaid.

*The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.*³

Bolton Castle, Oct. 22, 1568.

Madam my good sister, having come to throw myself into your arms, as my surest hope, and which I have for many reasons so often reminded you of, that I am certain it is unnecessary to refresh your memory on that head, it has given me great pleasure to hear that you have been pleased, agreeably to my first request, to

¹ To forgive Murray, Morton, and all her rebels and maligners.

² Norfolk and Maitland.

³ This letter seems to have been written by Mary in compliance with the advice given in the preceding one by the Bishop of Ross, the Duke of Norfolk, and Secretary Maitland in the preceding letter.

take upon yourself the trouble of putting an end to the too long differences between me and my subjects, which I am convinced will be now of short duration, and terminate to the benefit of our poor, afflicted nation, and in particular to my honour. From the respect and confidence which I have in you, and the desire to please you, which I have shewn, both in preventing the enterprise undertaken by my faithful subjects, when their force was striving to get at least moderate pay, and to be allowed to seek assistance elsewhere than of you, (whom I wish to please in every thing, as my good sister and only friend,) convinced that you will be as favourable to me as you have always promised, if I followed your good advice, which I have done, and intend to do, as you may learn more fully from the Bishop of Rosse and my Lord Heris, [Herries,] whom I have sent to you, as the two most trustworthy I have; begging you to believe them, as you would myself, either separately or together. One of them you know; the other, I hope, will satisfy you better than the report made to you concerning him, and therefore I have opened my heart to them both, and my Lord Heris knows all that has passed between us.

Referring to them, I will conclude with my humble recommendations to your good grace, praying God to grant you, madam, with health, a long and happy life. From Boton, this xxii of October [1568.]

Your very affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARY R.

1568. *November* —. The Duke of Norfolk discusses with Maitland his project of a union with the Queen of Scotland.

November 14. M. de la Mothe Fénelon succeeds M. Bochetel de la Forest, as French ambassador at the Court of London.

The Archbishop of Glasgow to the Duc de Nemours.

Paris, November 18, 1568.

Monseigneur,—I have received a letter which the queen my sovereign has written to you, and which I consider to be in reply to the one you transmitted to her, through me, on your departure; I have enclosed it with this, and placed them in the hands of Lucas Manelly, to be forwarded to you.

As to the affairs of her majesty—the deputies of both parties are assembled at York, in England, where the Bastard of Scotland (the Earl of Murray) is in person, but nothing as yet is concluded or decided upon. I hope shortly to have some information, which I shall not fail to communicate to you. If the letter of my said sovereign requires an answer, and you will please to address it to me, I will forward it to her by the very first opportunity.

Although, monseigneur, I have not written to you since your departure, I have not forgotten to do what you ordered me, in regard to the ambassador of Spain and others, assuring you that they were much grieved to hear what I had to say to them. I shall always be ready to receive your commands, and to execute them to the best of my power.

I pray God to give you, monseigneur, perfect health, and a long and happy life.

From Paris, this xviii of November, 1568.

Your very humble and obedient servant,

JA. ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGO.

1568. November 22. Elizabeth transfers the conferences from York to Westminster, and grants audience to Murray.

The Queen of Scots to Don Francis de Alava.

Bolton Castle, supposed November, 1568.

I have been extremely astonished by a report, which

the Archbishop of Glasgow informs me has been made against me to his Catholic Majesty, my lord and good brother. For this reason, I have not failed to write immediately to his majesty, to beseech him not to believe it, since it is a calumny and imposition, emanating from plots and the malicious machination of my rebel subjects and other persons who encourage them, as I have ordered the said Archbishop of Glasgow to inform you in my name more fully, in order that you may be able to lay the whole before the king, begging you not to refuse me your good offices in this matter, and to act under this circumstance in my favour, as you have always done. You may be sure that his majesty will give immediately credit to what you say, and perceive that you, above all, have the means of being better informed about everything than those who have dared to assert that I was fickle in my religion; whereas, I never had any other wish than that of remaining, living, and dying, in the bosom of the holy Roman Catholic church.

I have this moment received the mournful news of the death of the Catholic queen, madam my good sister, whom may God receive into his holy glory! This bad news has doubled my grief and my affliction; for I have lost in her the best sister and friend I had in the world. I had the greatest confidence in her, and I have no doubt that she would have defended me against such falsehoods, and assured the king, her lord, of my constancy. But, as it has pleased God to send one affliction upon another, there is nothing left for me but to be resigned, and to beseech him to grant me the patience which I need, and, since my cause is just, to deign to succour and support me.¹

¹ It may easily be perceived that this letter was written in 1568, as it alludes to the following one addressed to the king, and men-

The Queen of Scots to King Philip II.

Bolton Castle, November 30, 1568.

Most high and most puissant prince, my very dear and well beloved brother cousin and ally, in the midst of my adversity I have received, at the same moment, two pieces of news, from which it would seem that Fortune is redoubling her efforts to put an end to me altogether. One of these is that of the death of the queen, your consort, madam my good sister, whose soul may God receive! and the other, that some one has represented to you that I am wavering in my religion, and that, to my misfortune, you doubt sometimes whether I have any at all. These two accounts afflict me to such a degree, that, though one leaves some hope of solace and remedy, I see none for the other. I know not which of the two grieves me most. I have reason to mourn, as I do with you, the death of so good and virtuous a princess, whose loss, I am sure, will be most painful to you. As for myself personally, it has bereft me of the best sister and friend I had in the world—of her in whom I had the greatest hope: and, though this loss is irreparable, though we ought to be resigned to it, and to submit to the will of God, who has been pleased to take her to himself, and to remove her from this life to enjoy another much more happy, still, it is impossible for me to mention or even think of her but my heart melts into tears and sighs, whilst the love I bore her is incessantly recalling her to my memory. I have also particular cause to be afflicted, as I am afraid of losing that which she had, in part, gained for me with you; that is to say, so good an opinion that I could be very sure of finding in you that protection and favour which I need in my misfortunes, as I am certain that, if God tions the death of queen Elizabeth of Spain, which took place on the 3rd October in that year.

had but spared her life until now, she would have answered to you for me, and have assured you that the reports made to you are absolutely false, which they really are. It is not long since I wrote to her, and I remember that, among other things, I intimated my firm resolution of living and dying in the Roman Catholic faith, whatever ill usage I might have to endure here on that account, and this too before I had the least suspicion that any one had endeavoured to calumniate me to you, though I have had a long experience of the wickedness of the rebels and other persons of this country, who tolerate them because they are all of the same sect; but I never could have thought that calumny could have so many attractions for persons professing the Catholic religion, and of that faith I believe them to be who prejudiced you against me.

I must now tell you that, whoever the person may be who has been the instrument of such disservice, I beseech you not to believe him, as he must be misinformed; and if you will please to honour me by appointing individuals worthy of confidence to make inquiries of those persons who are about me, and who are the most capable of answering and speaking on any subject whatever, I am sure that they will certify the very contrary, for they have never heard me utter a single word, or do the least thing that could give them so unfavourable an idea of me.

If I do not exercise my religion, it must not be concluded that I waver between the two. Besides, since my arrival in this kingdom, I begged to be, at least, allowed to exercise it in the same manner as the ambassador of a foreign prince is permitted to do; but I was told that I was a kinswoman of the queen's, and should never obtain that indulgence. An English minister was afterwards sent to me; he merely recites some

prayers in the vulgar tongue, which I had not the power to prevent, because I was, as I still am, deprived of my liberty and closely guarded. But if it be supposed I have done wrong by being present at those prayers, which I attended because I was not allowed any other exercise of my religion, I am ready to make any amends that may be considered necessary, that all the Catholic princes in the world may be convinced that I am an obedient, submissive, and devoted daughter of the holy Catholic and Roman church, in the faith of which I will live and die, without ever entertaining any other intention than this—an intention from which, with the help of God, I will never swerve in any way whatever.

But, as a single word on this point ought to suffice, I will not trouble you further on the subject, except to entreat you to lend a favourable ear to that which I have charged the Archbishop of Glasgow, my ambassador at the court of France, to say to your resident at the said court that he may communicate it to you.

These presents having no other object, I conclude, very humbly and affectionately recommending myself to your favour, and praying the Creator to grant you a long and happy life.

From the castle of Bowton, [Bolton,] in England, the last day of the month of November, one thousand five hundred and sixty eight.

Your very good sister,

MARY.

1568. *December 3.* The Bishop of Ross, one of Mary's commissioners at the conferences held in York and London, having in vain demanded that his mistress might come and exonerate herself in person, protests against all that has been done, and declares the conferences terminated. Cecil will not admit of this protest.

*The Queen of Scots to the Abbot of Arbroath and the rest of his faction.*¹

Bolton Castle, December 9, 1568.

As to the state of my affairs, I doubt but ye hast understand that at the convention in Yorke my rebels was confoundit in all they could alleadge for their insurrection and imprisonment of my personne, preservinge the which they not so Who be moyene of some of the Q. of Englands mynisters, that amongst her promises she has letten them haife presence, and afor their coming she promist to understand and trye thair haill contents of thair conspiracie herselfe, to the effect the same should be credit with some happie of my honor and contentment, and therfor desirit that some of my commissioners should pass towards her with diligence. But the proceadings since has shawin it was not the butt she shott at; for my matters has been prolongit in delaies, and in the mean tyme that my rebelles practizit secretly with her and her mynisters. Soe are they accordit and agreeit that my sonne should be delyverit in her handes to be nourished in this coun- trey as she think guid and declarit him to be abill to succeed efter her death in case she haffe no succession of her aiwn body, and for the mair securitie the castells of Edinburgh and Starlinge should be in Englishmen's hands to be kept in the said Q. of Inglands name.

Item with moyenne and concurrence of the Earle of Murray, the castell of Dunbartane shall be seizit and taken out of your handes, giffe they may, and in like

¹ This dispatch, addressed to the titular Abbot of Arbroath, Lord John Hamilton, who was, as well as his father and his elder brother, fearfully insane, is evidently written by Mary's Scottish secretary. The family calamity of the ducal house of Hamilton was among Mary's great misfortunes, for the Hamiltons were, in intention, faithful to her.

wise randerit to the Q. of England in her keepinge, providinge your promisis to be kept. She has promised to helpe and supporte the Earle of Murray and to maintaine him in the usurpinge of my authoritie and cause him to be declarit to succede to the cronne of Scotland after the death of my sonne, in case he die without succession of his bodie. And the Earle of Murray sall acknowledge to hauld the realme of Scotland in manner of fee of the Q. of England. And this is all the equitie of my cause and proceedings. For the which cause I trust the sayde Quene of Ingland myndes haill for the ruyn and destruction of my haill realme. Howbeit, her promisis was uderwise as I looked for. But God and guid Scotts hartes of my subiects remedie the same.

Yitt this is not all. Thair is an uder leigue maid betwixte the Earle of Murray and the Earle of Hertford, which should [marrie] one of the Secretary Cecill's daughters quha dressis all their draughts : by which leigue the saed Erle of Murray and Hartfuird [Hertford] sauld meit and fortifie with ane other in the succession, that onny one proceeding of awin syde : that is to saie, the Karle of Murray for my realme, by reasone of his legitimacon, and the Karle of Hartfuird one the uder side for Ingland because of vmquhill [the late] Dame Kathern¹ on quhame he begat two bairns. Soe they are viz^t. after my upn to my sonn's deith, he being onis out of my subiects handes, quhat can I hope for but a lamentable tragedie ?

¹ Lady Katharine Gray, the sister of Lady Jane Gray, must be meant by this name : she had just died a victim to Queen Elizabeth's jealousy of her proximity to the throne, and had left two boys by her stolen marriage with the Earl of Hertford mentioned here. Queen Elizabeth, during her whole reign, would not allow the legitimacy of these children.

Theis thinges are concludit amongist the cheife of my rebelles with the auntient and natural enemies of my realme: and thar restid nothing now but to establishe and assure the said Earle of Murray in his usurpinge against my autoritie. And to begin the same, they would haif persuadit me be craft to haife liberally dy-mitted and renouncit my cronne, and to cause me to condescend to seike an unhappie thing and unlawfull design: thar has bein usit all craft that was possible, viz^t, with boastinge and faier wordes and mony guid promises to me. But yitt they seeing I was resolut to do nothing herin to their proffit, the Q. of Ingland namit new commissioners with thame quhilk was all ready. She putt in number of the q^{lk}. the said Earle with others of his faction: and permytted me pass thair and declare my awn ressonis that they would have presentid in the said conference, quhilk broken for contraing that the Q. of Ingland has maid of her promises. Which was not to permytt the Earle of Murray to come in her presence before the said conference was endit. And morauer that noe things should be done prejudiciall to my honourable estate, and right that I may haif to the countrey.

Efter this my commissioners left the said conference, with solempne protestacons that all which was done there untill to my preiudition in ony sort sall nill and of no effecte: and ther uppon are deliberat to come away as soone as it is possible. Whereof I thought guid to advertise yow, to the effect ye may understande the veritie of the matters to enforme our frendes of the same. Therefore I pray you assemble our frendes and faithful subjects, like as I haif written to my Lord D'Ergyle [Argyle] and Huntley to haist them to your reliefe, doinge all the hinder and euill that ye may to the same rebelles and their assistants, to stoppe their

retorninge home if it be possible: for they will be reddy before you, giffe ye not haist, sua ye be convenit all in anie convention, not fearinge that I sall discharge your proceedings as I did before: and this ye sall shaw and cause publicke proclaiming by opyn proclamation,—the foresaid conspiracie and tressone, which the said rebells has conspyrit against me, myn autoritie, and my sonne; the comone weill of the realme of Scotland; intending to putt the same to execution, giffe they be not stoppit in tyme. Therefore I pray you with diligence to stoppe thame this wynter all that ye may, and I doubt not but in springe tyme of the yeir we sall haife sufficient by our frendes.

[9 December, 1568.]

1568. *December 9.* Murray produces before the English commissioners the love-letters and sonnets attributed to Mary Stuart.

A Paper, signed by the Earl of Murray, testifying that certain Letters, and Papers, and Sonnets, found in a Silver Casket were written by the Queen.

Westminster, December 10, 1568.

Quhare as for verification of the eik or additions to our aunswere pntit by we agains the accusation of our adversaries, concernyng the murther of Henry of gude memorie our soveraine Lordis dearest fader, [Darnley,] we have producit divers missive lettres, sonets, obligations, or garantis for marriage betwix the quene moder our said soveraine and James sometyme erle bothuile, [Bothwell,] as written or subscribed by his hand, which we interceptit and come to our hands closit within a silver box, in sic manner as is already manifest and declarit. And we be the tennor hereof

testifies, avowis, and affirmis uponn our honor and . . .
That the saidis missive writings, sonets, obligations, or
contracts ar undubtedly the said quens proper hand
write, except the contract in scottis of the dait at Sey-
ton, the fifthe day of Aprile 1567, written to the erle of
Huntley, which also we understand and perfectly know
to be subscribed be her hand, will take the same uponn
our honor and conscience, as is before said. In witnes
guharof have subscribed theis pnts with our hands at
Westminster the x day of December, the year of God
i m v c threescore aucht yeris.

JAMES REGENT.
ORCHARDLEGH.

Dumformlim, 12 December, 1568.

Exhibited by John Wood of Hampton Court, in Par-
liament, Ld. Keeper, D. of Norfolk. Mq. of Hertford,
Earls Bedford, Leicester, L. Admyrall. Wm. Cecill.
Ral. Ludlow. Walter Mildmay.

The Forged Love-letters and Silver-gilt Casket.

The preceding document having introduced to the
reader the far famed silver-gilt casket, the repository of
the supposed love-letters from Mary to Bothwell, some ac-
count of it and of its contents seems requisite in order that
perspicuous ideas may be formed of the accusations
brought against the unfortunate queen by the enemies
who were so deeply interested in effecting her disgrace
and downfall. It is, we find, likewise expected that, in
a collection of Mary Queen of Scots' letters, some notice
ought to be taken of our reasons for rejecting this noto-
rious series of love-letters, first produced by her enemies
in the silver-gilt casket, at the investigation before the

Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler at York, as the sole grounds on which her enemies founded their accusations of her participation in the death of her husband. This question was so ably analysed by the elder Mr. Tytler, that Dr. Johnson, after reading the statements, declared that these letters could never more be attributed to Mary, Queen of Scots. Dr. Johnson was no particular judge of historical documents, but he is a great authority on all questions of moral justice, and he founded his verdict on the irrefragable facts, that the accused queen was neither suffered to see the originals of the letters she was accused of writing, nor even, when she implored for copies, was she permitted to have them. Had the fabrications been far more ingenious than they were, the accusers of Mary pronounced their own doom in the opinions of posterity by such conduct.

The following is the summary of facts relating to these letters:—

The silver-gilt casket was a genuine one; it had been given to Queen Mary by her first husband, Francis II. Her enemies had no difficulty in obtaining that or any other of her goods, since, when transferred to her Lochleven prison, her worldly possessions were limited to the clothes she wore. It is with the contents of the casket that her guilt or innocence is implicated. Statements disagree as to the number of the letters alleged to have been found therein, which were without date, superscription, signature or seals; some love verses were found in it, which were foreign to the subject. The accusers affirmed, "That in the Castle of Edinburgh this casket was left by the earl of Bothwell before his fleeing away, and he sent for it by one George Dalgleish, his servant, who was taken by the Earl of Morton with this small gilt coffer, not fully a foot long, garnished in

sundry places with the Roman letter F, under a king's crown, wherein were certain letters and writings well known and by oaths affirmed to have been written with the Queen of Scots' own hand to the Earl of Bothwell ;" and a promise of marriage written in Roman hand, in French, avowed to be written by the Queen of Scots herself, without date, but surmised to have been written *before* the death of her husband Lord Darnley. It is worthy of remark that George Dalglish was hanged before the love letters were produced before the Scotch Privy Council and Parliament, and before their existence was proclaimed by Queen Mary's enemies.

The Accusers brought the following Articles against Queen Mary : 1st. The Earl of Morton at first produced those letters, and affirmed, on his word of honour, that his servants seized them on the person of George Dalglish, one of the Earl of Bothwell's servants, who had brought them out of the Castle of Edinburgh.

2nd. The Earls of Murray and Morton affirm on their honour, that they are the handwriting of their queen, in their own council in the regent's parliament in Scotland, and before Queen Elizabeth and her council in England.

3rd. They were produced at York and Westminster, before the English privy council, and compared with other letters of Queen Mary's handwriting, and *appear* to be similar.

4th. Lastly, several of the incidents mentioned in the letters themselves, such as the conversations between the king and queen at Glasgow, are, by Crawford, one of the vassals of the Earl of Lenox, affirmed on oath to be true

Queen Mary's Answers.

1st. Queen Mary denies the letters to be her handwriting, and asserts them to be forged by her accusers,

Murray, Morton, and Lethington, and offers to prove this.

2nd. Morton's bare affirmation of the way in which the letters came into his hands, as he is a party, cannot, in equity, be regarded. Nay, the letters appearing first in *his* hands was of itself suspicious; besides, his stifling¹ the evidence of Dalgleish, or forbearing to interrogate him judicially how he came by these letters, and his neglecting to examine his own servants publicly, who seized Dalgleish with the box, and in the place of the legal declaration of the proper witnesses, obtruding his *own affirmation* only,—these omissions double the suspicion that he himself and his faction were the contrivers of the letters.

3rd. The affirmation of Murray and Morton on the authenticity of the letters, both in Scotland and England, can bear no greater degree of credit than the Queen Mary's denial, and the affirmation of herself and most of the nobility of Scotland, that those letters *were* forged.

4th. The similarity of one handwriting to another, is such proof as no man can be certain of, far less in the case of letters appearing in so clandestine a way in the hands of Morton, the queen's inveterate enemy and accuser. She affirmed, and offered to prove, that Lethington, her secretary of state, had often imitated her hand.

5th. That several of the incidents mentioned in the letters may be true, according to Crawford's evidence, is not denied; yet the letters themselves might be forged.

To these may be added the following still more important articles of defence, which it was impossible for Queen Mary or her friends to use, for the simple reason

¹ By the best possible means: the confederate lords had the poor wretch hanged, January, 1568, some months before the letters were mentioned by their party as evidence against Queen Mary.

that they were forbidden all sight of the writings brought in evidence against her. By the comparison of later documentary histories of the minutes of the Scotch parliament and English privy council, the following facts have been elicited, although from the records of her accusers and adversaries.

1st. The letters, as exhibited by Murray and Morton, wanted dates, place, subscriptions, seals, and address. Would any judge or jury, in honester times, have admitted such documents as evidence upon the bare word of the accuser?

2nd. Why were not Hubert (who *it is said* swore that he got them when first written from the queen's own hand and delivered them to Bothwell,) and Dalgleish (who *it is said* swore that he got the whole collection in the casket from Sir James Balfour, in the Castle of Edinburgh, to carry to Bothwell,) brought forward to support the affirmation of the Earl of Morton? The truth is, the queen's enemies had hanged them before they produced the letters, therefore they could not bear evidence of any kind.

3rd. The letters were produced with variations in different places; before Murray's secret council they were produced as if with the queen's signature, but when they were submitted to the examination of the Scots parliament they were not signed; it was here that the chief of the nobility of Scotland must have seen them, if, according to Queen Mary's defence, they declared they were forgeries. The variation of the appearance of the letters is proved from comparison of the acts of council and registers of parliament—tests better understood at this hour, by the reading public, than when the elder Tytler, Whittaker, Goodall, and even Chalmers, examined these evidences.

4th. While the investigation was going on at York, the

letters were privately, and in secret conference, shewn by Lethington and Buchanan to the English commissioners, but carefully concealed from Queen Mary and her advocates.

5th. Queen Mary, on first hearing of these letters, earnestly supplicated to have inspection of the originals, and to be allowed copies; from either of which she affirmed she could prove them spurious. Both requests were denied; the letters were delivered back to her accusers; and, to her dying day, she never obtained a sight of them, or of attested copies.¹

Before this subject is dismissed, we give the description of these letters (as far as can be gathered from an inquisition secret and partial, and therefore iniquitous), from the State Paper Office.

Journal of the Commissioners, Wednesday, Dec. 8, (1568), at Westminster, altered and interlined in Cecil's hand.

“ This day, the Earl of Murray, according to the appointment yesterday, came to the queen's commissioners, saying, ‘ That as they had yesternight produced and showed sundry writings, tending to prove the hatred the Queen of Scots bore to her husband, at the time of his murder, wherein, also, they said might appear special arguments of her inordinate love of Earl Bothwell. And so thereupon they produced several writings, written in French, of the same Roman hand as others her letters, which were showed yesternight, and avowed by them to be written by the said Queen of Scots.’ Which seven writings, being copied, were read in French, and a due collation made thereof as near as could be by writing

¹ The document by which Mary's commissioners, in her name, earnestly demanded a sight of the original letters, is printed by Goodall, and quoted by Dr. Lingard, vol. viii., p. 31.

and inspection, and made to accord with the *originals*, which the Earl of Murray required to be *re-delivered*¹ to him, and did thereupon deliver the copies."

The tenor of all which *seven* writings here follows in order, the first being a sonnet, (*a long sonnet*, as it is called in another writing in the State Paper Office), commencing,

O Dieux ayez de moi.

This quotation from a long poem is the only particle of the original French of these papers, adduced in the State Paper Office of Journals of Council. It was probably the original occupant of the casket when it fell into the hands of Mary's enemies; there is not the slightest evidence in the structure of the poem that Queen Mary was the original author of it, though she might have copied it, as many young ladies copy verses for their albums. It consists of forty quartrains, and may be a song of the troubadours three hundred years before, for aught that appears to the contrary, for neither Bothwell's name,² nor Mary's, nor Scotland, nor any place therein, nor any person belonging to them, appears in *one line* of the original French!! It was an absurdity to deem this poem evidence one way or other. But probably it was the sole specimen of Mary's handwriting in the casket.

In the State Paper Office, the following garbled fragments occur in broad Scotch, which surely must have been less intelligible to the learned nobles of Elizabeth's court than Mary's French letters. Here follow speci-

¹ Here they are *re-delivered to the accusers*, the defenders of Mary not being present, and no notation made that they were shewn to them.

² There has been a translation of these verses made in English, where the name of Bothwell appears at least twenty times in the course of the poem, while in the original French, printed on the other side of the page, it appears *not once*; surely, this is a labour of love in the cause of falsehood!

mens, but wherefore in Scotch is the mystery of that iniquity. For we all know Mary could not write, till three or four years after her domestication in England, intelligible composition in any of our insular dialects. Her Scotch secretaries wrote Scotch documents for her, some of which are in this collection; but the love-letters of the silver-gilt casket are not pretended to be secretary work.

Notes drawn furth of the Quenis Letters sent to the Earl Bothwell, State Paper Office.

Imprimis, after long discourse of her conference with the king [Darnley] her husband, she writes to the said earl in these terms:—

“This is my fust jurnay, I sall end the same the morne. I wreit on all thingis howbeit they be of littil weycht. I am doin ane worke hin that I haiste gretlie. Haif ye not desyr to lauche to sie me lie sa weil, and to til hym the truth betwix handis.”

Item, shortly after. “We are coupled with twae fals racis. The devil syndere us, and God mot knit us togidder for ever for the maist faithful cupple that ever he unitit. This is my faith, I will die in it.”

Item. “I am not weill at ease, and reit verray glaid to wreit to yow quhen the reist ar slep, and sin that I canna sleip as thei do, and as I wald desyir, that is in your harmis ma deir luife.”

Item. “Adverteis me quhat ze haif deliberat to do in the matere, ze knaw upoun this point to the end we mai understonde utheris well, that naething thoir throw be spilt.”

Item, thus she concludes the letter. “Wareil mocht this pokishe¹ mon be that causes haif sa meikell pane, for without him, I wald haif ane far mair plesant subject to

¹ Darnley was ill of the small-pox, and in danger of his life;—it is well known that Mary attended on him.

discourse upoun. He is not o'er meikle spilt, but he has gotten verray mekill, he has almaist slane me with his braith; it is war nor zour unclis, and zeit I cum na neirer, but sat in ane chair at the bed feete, and he beand at the uther end thurfores."

Item. "Thereafter ye gar me dissemble sa far that I haif horring thairat, and ze caus me almaist do the office of an trahators. Remember you, if it war not to obey yow, I had raither be deid nor I did it, my heairt blidis at it. Summa, he will not cum with me, except upoun condition that I sall be at bed an bourd with him as of befoir, and that I sall leif him na efter."

Item, shortly after. "Summa, he will gae upoun my word to all plaices. Alace, I never dissavit any bodie, bot I remit me altogidder to your will. Send me advertisement quhat I sal do, and quhatsoever sal cum theirof, I sal obey yow advis to with yourself, yf ye can fynd out any mair secreit invention be medecin, and the baith at Craigmillar."

Item. "Thoirafter I sall draw out al thinges out of hym, gif ye will that I advow al thinges to him, bot I will never rejois to dissave any bodie that trustis in me, zet, notwithstanding, ye may command me in al thingis. Haif no evil opinioun of me for that cause, be reason ye ar the occasioun of it your sel, because, for my awn particular revenge, I wold not do it to hym."

Item, after. "For certaintie he suspectis that thing ye know, and of *his lyif*;¹ bot as to the last, how soon I

¹ Can any one of common sense believe that a letter containing such a sentence as this written in her usual hand, would have been given personally by Queen Mary to such a profligate fellow as Hubert (who is the same as French Paris named soon after,) without either address or seal?

speke twa or thrie guid wordis anto him, he rejois and is out of doubt."

Item, thereafter. "Be not offendit, for I gif not our mekill credyt, now sence to obay yow, my deir luife, I spair nouthar honor, consciens, na gretnes quhatsumever, I pray yow tak it in guid pairt, and not after the interpretation of your fals guid brither, to quhom, I pray ye, gif nae credens agains the maist faythful trew luifer that ever ye had, or ever sal haif. Sie not hir quhais fenzeit tearis suld not be sa mekill prayit nor estemyt as the trew and faythfull travaillis quhilk I sustene to merit hir plaice for obteneing of quhilk againis my naturall, I betraie them that may impesch me. God forgive me, and God gif yow, my only luif, the haps and prosperitie that your humbel and faithful luif desiris to yow, quha hopis schortlie to be ane uther thing unto yow."

Item. "In the credit gifin to the berar, quhom we understand was Pareis [*the same as Hubert*], 'remembre yow of the purpois of the Ladie Reires, of the ludgene in Edinburt.'"

Item, in ane uther lettre sent be Betoun. "As to me, howbeit, I heir noe farther newes from yow, according to my commissioner I bring the man with me to Craigmillar upon Monday quhair he will be al Wednesday. An I will gang to Edinburt to draw bluid of me; gif, gif in the mean time, I get na newes in the contrair from yow."

Item, verray schortlie after. "Summa, ze will say, he makis the court to me of the qwhuilt; I tak so great pleasur that I never enter quhair is he, bot incontinent I tak the sickness in my side,¹ I so fashit with it. Yf

¹ Mary, Queen of Scots had through life an occasional pain in her side, which appears to have proceeded from a chronic liver com-

Pareis [Hubert] bring me that quhilk I send him for, I treast it sal amend me. I pray yow adverties me of your newes, at length, and quhat I sal do in cais ze be not returned quhen I cum thair; for in cais ye work not wyselie, I sie that the haill burthen of this will fal on my schulderis. Provide for all thinges, and discours upon it first yowrselb."

Item, in ane uther lettre. "I pray yow, according to yowr promise, to discharg yowr hart to me, utherwayis I will not think that my malheure, and the quid composing of thaim, that hes not the thried pairt of the faithful and willing obedyens unto yow that I beyre has wyn againes my will that advantaig over me quhilk the secund luif of Jason wan not that I would compair yow to ane sa unhappie as he was, nor yit myself to ane so unpetifult a woman as sche, howbeit, ye cause me to be somquhat lyck unto hir in ony thing that twichis yow, or that may help and keep yow to hir, to quhome ye onlie appertain; yf it may be suer that I may appropriat that is woune throuth fayffull, yea, onlie luffing yow quhilk I do, and sal do al the dayis of my lyif, for pane and peril that can cum thereof. In recompanis of the quhilk, and of al the yvels quhilk ye have been caws of to me, remember yow upon the place here beside," &c.

Such is the principal specimen of the species of evidence preserved by the transcription of the clerks of Elizabeth's privy council, as extracts of the letters which the mortal foes of Mary Stuart brought before her inimical relative, Queen Elizabeth and her council; neither in which, nor in three other papers, does *one* word occur of the original French wherein these letters were said to be written; nor is there any reason why Elizabeth's plaint: of course all persons about her household and court knew this circumstance as well as herself.

council-clerks should not have transcribed the original French in preference to the barbarous Scotch, in which these strange documents were couched. French and Latin documents occur so profusely in the English archives, that there cannot exist a doubt that if *French letters*, of Mary's writing, had been laid before the privy council of Elizabeth, French copies would have been quoted as evidence in the current journal of the privy council, instead of these barbarous Scotch fragments, which Murray's conclave had fabricated for the information of the lower members of the Scottish parliament.

It is probable that the casket, containing a poem written in Mary's hand, might have been seized, and, by an equivocating comparison, tested with the correspondence Mary had previously sent to Elizabeth, and probably found to correspond; for that French poem might allude to a hundred pair of lovers, in ancient and contemporary history,—and, what is still more likely, in romance—for, as beforesaid, there is not *one* name in the French verses even to identify the century of Mary, much less her person.

Much stress has been laid by Robertson, on the difficulty that any forger would have had to encounter, in forging from seven to ten long letters in Mary's hand, in French; but he ought first to have been certain that her hand was ever imitated.¹ It is our firm belief that Murray's black conclave took no such trouble;

¹ A copy of one letter in French, supposed to belong to this series, was found by Mr. Laing in the State Paper Office; its contents are, however, of little moment. Mr. Laing did not, indeed, pretend that the letter which he found in the State Paper Office is in Mary's *very well known hand*; it may have been composed by her enemies, as well as the Scotch fragments, and the Latin letters fabricated by Buchanan.

for the clumsy specimens of their skill, extant in the privy council journals, lead us to conclude that they did not proceed in so workmanlike a manner, but merely composed the broad Scotch fragments, which they pretended to be translations from French originals, never seen or alleged to be seen by mortal eyes, save their own and a junta of Elizabeth's privy council; while all they had of French composition *were the verses*, which they construed to suit Mary's case, and which might, indeed, have been seized in her hand, and proved the stalking-horse for comparisons. Buchanan's Latin letters (at the end of the composition he calls his Detection,) which he passes off as the translation of these love-letters of Mary, of course, merit no more notice than the question—Why did he not print the original French?

It may be considered a matter of curiosity to ascertain what became of this fatal silver gilt casket, with its iniquitous contents, which, futile as they would have appeared to a modern judge and jury, weighed heavily against the unfortunate Mary of Scotland. The last time this celebrated casket, with its contents, was seen, was about the time of Charles II., in the possession of the Marquis of Douglas;¹ they are supposed to have been consumed in the fire of 1758, which destroyed Castle Douglas and all its furniture and paintings. If the casket was indeed in the hands of the Douglas family, James I. could not have destroyed it, as some enemies of his line have insinuated. The State Paper Council Journal asserts, that the *seven* papers were *re-delivered* (*i. e.* restored) to the Earl of Murray, therefore the last authentic notice of them commits them to the secret keeping of the confederates against Mary, in whose possession documentary history leaves them; therefore the fact, that the casket and contents finally

¹ Quoted by Goodall from an anonymous historian of that era.

remained with the heirs of the Earl of Morton, (the man who had first produced them,) and were destroyed with the muniments of the Douglas family, in their ancient feudal castle, may be true.

[Public opinion regarding the love letters to Bothwell is thus mentioned in a letter sent to France, from the ambassador about this time, as follows.]

La Mothe Fenelon to Catherine de Medicis, Queen Mother.

“Truly it is believed by those of the queen’s side, that these letters are false, and that those seen are supposititious and counterfeited; and that since their malice and subtlety has been great enough to dispossess a rightful queen of her crown, they would not stand at counterfeiting her hand; and they also alledge, that should their queen have done anything of the kind, she never would have done it, excepting under the magic compulsion and sorcery of the Earl of Bothwell, as he knew well that trade, having made it his greatest occupation from the time he was at school, to read and study books of necromancy and forbidden magic.”¹

¹ It is a curious trait in the history of witchcraft and magic, that forgery as well as poisoning was part of that dark profession, and we suspect that in the unlearned ages forgery was a very frequent and mischievous crime; it was visited with severe penal laws, just the same as when witchcraft was accompanied with poisoning. When that disgrace to chivalry, Count Robert of Artois, cousin to Philip of Valois, King of France, fled to Edward III., and instigated him to invade France, it was because he had been banished his native country for very extensive and daring forgeries of deeds to estates; and after his flight, a fair and learned girl—either a nun or brought up in conventual learning—was burnt alive for having been the agent of effecting the forgeries. But, in the true spirit of those barbarous ages, her judges could not believe she forged the deeds for Count Robert with the perverted industry of her

Queen Elisabeth to Mary Queen of Scots.

Hampton Court, December 21st, 1568.

Madame—While your cause hath bene here treated upon, we thought it not nedefull to write any thing thereof unto you, supposing alwaies that your commissioners would thereof advertise as they saw cause. And now sithen they hawe broken this conference, by refusing to make answer as they say by your commaundement, and for that purpose they returne to you; although we think you shall by them perceive the whole proceedings: yet we cannot but let you understand by these our letters, that as we have been very sorry of long time for your mishaps and great troubles, so find we our sorrows now doubled in beholding such things as are produced, to prove yourself cause of all the same.¹ And our grief herein is also increased, in that we did not think at any time to have seen or heard such matters of so great appearance and moment to charge and condemn you. Nevertheless, both in friendship, nature and justice, we are moved to cover these matters, and stay our judgment, and not to gather any sense thereof to your prejudice, before we may hear of your direct answer thereunto, according as your commissioners understand our meaning to be, which at their request is delivered to them in writing. And as we trust they will advise you for your honour to agree to make

pen; *that* was a feat they believed beyond the power of any girl to perform, but supposed she was allied with certain literary fiends who performed for her benefit this piece of penmanship, and for putting the pens of the said fiends into such mischievous requisition was the unfortunate forgeress burnt at Paris.

¹ Here Elizabeth, under cover of condolence, maliciously alludes to the love letters of the silver gilt casket, discussed in the foregoing paper, and though the nature of that iniquity forced her virtually to acquit Mary, yet here she affects to declare that that acquittal was mere matter of favour. Mary's answer to this letter is either lost, or not yet discovered.

answer, as we have mentioned them, so surely we cannot but as one Prince and near cousin regarding another, most earnestly as we may in terms of friendship, require and charge you not to forbear from answering. And for our part as we are heartily sorry, and dismayed to find such matter of your charge; and although we doubt not but you are well certified of the diligence and care of your ministers having your commission, yet can we not besides an allowance generally of them, especially note to you your good choice of this bearer the Bishop of Ross,¹ who hath not only faithfully and wisely, but also so carefully and dutifully for your honor and weal behaved himself, and that both privately and publickly, as we cannot but in this sort commend him unto you, as we wish you had many such devoted discrete servants. For in our judgment, we thinke we have not any that in loyalty and faithfulness can overmatch him. And this we are the bolder to write, considering we take it the best trial of a good servant to be in adversitie, out of which we wish you to be deliuered by the justification of your innocency.

And so, trusting to hear shortly from you, we make an end. Given at Hampton Court under our Signet the xxist of December 1568, in the Leauenthe [eleventh] year of our Reigne.

Your good sister and cousin,

ELIZABETH.

The Queen of Scots to the Earl of Huntly.²

Bolton Castle, January 6th, 1568-9.

Richt traist cousigne and counsalor. We greet thee well. We haif receavit your letter be the beirar hereof

¹ The Bishop of Ross was said to be, at his first sojourn in England, in great favour with Queen Elizabeth, an assertion which this passage confirms.

² Huntley was then in arms for Mary's right.

daitit the x of the last moneth and has considerit the same. Notwithstanding that we haif written to you laitlie anent the estait of our affayres as amplie as we now informit thairof. But this present is to shaw you that my Lord Boyd our traist cousigne and counsellor (wha arrivit here from the court the xxviith of the said moneth) has declaret to us how our rebelles has done the worst thai could to haif dishonour us (which thankis to God) lyes not in their power, but by their expectations has found themselves disappointed of that thai lookt for. Thai procure . . . to seek appoyntment. Bot albeit we be not of sic nature as thaie that forget neuer, nevertheles we shall cause them acknowledge thair selfishnes. And the said queene our good sister and her counsale knaw their false inventions and offences pervertest against us to colour their trahisom and wicked usurpation, swa that it shall be manifest to all the world quhat men thai ar, to our honour and contentment of our faithful subjects. For (praysit be God) our friendis increasis and thairs decreasis daylie. ye sall . . . anie lettre be this beirar to be subscrivit by yow and our cousigne the Erle of Argyll, which is maid be my Lord Boydis advyse conforme to the declaration he maid to our traist counsellor the Bishop of Ross, he knawing our deliberation and will thereintil. And albeit we knaw their is na need to use ony persuasion towart you . . . ye may be driven to that which intil ye can haif nothing but reputation and honour. And seeing it is for your just defence, calomniat be the unfaithfulness and trahisom if our rebelles, yitt we thought it gud to write unto you this present. Praying you to schaw that the vertues which is in yow and equitie of our cause may not induce our adversaries and you to use sic bragging (which be the faithful report of our commissioners and others that are in the court of Eng-

gland) ye may understand thai mak agains us and you twa amongis the rest of our faithful subiects.

As to our part we ar resolut not to spare theme in setting the veritie to their eyis. And (with the grace of God) and equitie of our cause, that all which they haif allegeit agains us shall fynd the same to their oun schame and confusion. We refer to your discretion to cut and pare the said letter as ye shall think best and extend it in sic forme as ye shall thinke maist necessarie, praying you to send us the same againe subscrivit and sealled the soonest ye maye see an offert. It may be producit togedder with the rest of the accusations which we intend to gif in agains our traitors. Ye shall also ressaif ane copie of the queene our sister's answer to our commissioners¹ supplication, which ye maye consider. Maureover we haif understood that ye are in porpus to change the provost of Elgin, which we wish and protest you not to do, but retorne him who is in the same office alreddy, so long as he remains constant and faithful to us, swa that their be na other be put in places, as ye will do us pleasure and expect our thanks there anent. Referring the rest to the beirar, which ye will creddit, committes yow to the protection of God Almightye, off Bowtun, (Bolton,) the 6 of Jannier, 1568—9,

Your richt gud Cousigne,
and assured frind,

MARIE R.

1569. *January 7.* The Bishop of Ross demands a copy of the papers attributed to the Queen of Scots, on the part of his mistress, and accuses Murray, Morton, &c. of the murder of Darnley.¹

January 10. Elizabeth declares that nothing has been proved on either side, and puts an end to the conferences.

¹ See the cartels between Mary's friend Lord Herries and Lord Lindsay on this occasion in the Appendix. Vol. 2nd.

January 13. The Bishop of Ross protests against the validity of any acts that Mary Stuart may be forced to sign, so long as she shall not enjoy her liberty ; and repeats the assurance that she will never consent to resign her crown, which Elizabeth had several times proposed to her to do.

January —. Murray, Maitland, and even Leicester, persuade the Duke of Norfolk to persevere in his project for marrying Mary Stuart.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Bolton Castle, January 22, 1569.

Madam my good sister—I know not what occasion I can have given to any of this company, or at least of your kingdom, that they should endeavour to persuade you (as it appears to me, by your letter,) of a thing so distant from my thoughts, whereof my conduct has borne witness. Madam, I came to you in my trouble for succour and support, on the faith of the assurance that I might reckon upon you for every assistance in my necessity ; and, for this reason, I refrained from applying for any other aid to friends, relatives, and ancient allies ; relying solely upon your promised favour. I have never attempted, either by word or deed, ought to the contrary, and nobody can lay to my charge any thing against you. Still, to my unspeakable regret, I see my actions falsely represented and construed ; but I hope that God, with time, the father of truth, will declare otherwise, and prove to you the sincerity of my intentions towards you.

In the mean time, I am treated so rigorously, that I cannot comprehend whence proceeds the extreme indignation, which this demonstrates that you have conceived against me, in return for the confidence which I have placed in you, in preference to all other princes, and the desire I have shewn to obtain your favour. I cannot but deplore my evil fortune, seeing you have been

pleased not only to refuse me your presence, causing me to be declared unworthy of it by your nobles; but also suffered me to be torn in pieces by my rebels, without even making them answer to that which I had alleged against them; not allowing me to have copies of their false accusations,¹ or affording me any liberty to accuse them. You have also permitted them to retire, with a decree in a manner absolving and strengthening them in this usurped so-called regency, and have thrown the blame upon me, and covertly condemned me without giving me a hearing, detained my ministers, caused me to be removed by force, without informing me what has been resolved upon respecting my affairs; why I am to be transferred to another abode; how long I am to remain there; how I shall be treated there; or for what reason I am confined, and all support and my requests refused.

All these things, along with other petty annoyances, such as not permitting me to receive news from my relatives in France, nor from my servants on my private necessities, having in like manner anew interdicted all communication with Scotland, nay, refused me leave to give any commission to one of my servants, or to send my letters by them, grieve me so sorely and make me, to tell you the truth, so timid and irresolute, that I am at a loss how to act, nor can I resolve upon obeying so sudden an order to depart, without first receiving some news from my commissioners; not that this place is a whit more agreeable than any other which you may be pleased to assign; when you have made me acquainted with your good-will towards me, and on what conditions.

Wherefore, madam, I entreat you not to think that I mean any offence, but a natural care which I owe to

¹ i. e. the contents of the silver gilt casket.

myself and my people, to wish to know the end before disposing of myself so lightly, I mean voluntarily ; for I am in your power, and you can, in spite of me, command even the lowest of your subjects to sacrifice me, without my being able to do any thing but appeal to God and you, for other support I have none ; and, thank God, I am not so silly as to suppose that any of your subjects concern themselves about the affairs of a poor, forlorn, foreign princess, who, next to God, seeks your aid alone, and, if my adversaries tell you any thing to the contrary, they are false and deceive you ; for I honour you as my elder sister, and, notwithstanding all the grievances above mentioned, I shall be ever ready to solicit, as of my elder sister, your friendship before that of any other. Would to God you would grant it me, and treat me as I should wish to deserve in your place ! When this shall come to pass, I shall be happy ; if not, God grant me patience, and you his grace ! And here I will humbly recommend myself to yours, praying God to grant you, madam, health and a long and happy life.

From Boton, this xxii of January, [1568-9.]

Your very affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARY R.

1569. *End of January.* Elizabeth, suspecting some intrigues, and distrustful of Lord Scrope, whose wife was the Duke of Norfolk's sister, suddenly removes the Queen of Scots from Bolton to Tutbury, in Staffordshire, and places her in the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

*Secret Memorial of M. de la Vergne to the Queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis (written in cipher,) and sent in the despatches of La^e Mothe Fenelon, ambassador to the Court of England.*¹

¹ *Dépêches de la Mothe Fenelon*, vol. i. p. 169. The Queen of Scots was then at Bolton Castle.

London, January 30, 1569.

More than wonted rigour has been shewn since the last few days to the Queen of Scotland: it is to compel her to renounce her crown; and they have threatened her, if she makes any difficulty, that she shall go where it has been ordained to remove her, (which in truth grieves her very much,) that they will lift her up, she and only one other woman with her, in their bed, and carry them by force in a litter close shut up with a lock and key. On which she has sent to the Sieur de la Mothe for him to make a remonstrance, which he will do the first time he can see this queen [Elizabeth;] also for him to tell the deputies of the said Queen of Scotland, that although they ought not to hope for any good on this side for her, still she will be treated worse, if there is a rupture between the two kingdoms. Some here have doubts whether they will remove her, unless there should be an insurrection in the quarter where she now is.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elisabeth.¹

Tutbury, February 10, 1569.

Madam my good sister—I have understood, by the Bishop of Ross and my Lord Herries, the good affection with which you have proceeded with them in all my affairs, a thing no less comfortable than was hoped of your good nature. I have especially learned, by them, that it was your good pleasure that I was treated with the honourable respect and courteous entertainment that I have received, since my arrival at Bolton, from Master Knollys and my Lord Scrope, of which I cannot do less than to testify to you of the diligence and great affection with which they have accomplished your

¹ *Dépêches de la Mothe Fenelon*, vol. i. p. 206.

commands, and the cause that I had to praise their civil deportment towards me till my removal, the manner of which I cannot conceal appeared hard to me. On this, however, not desiring to trouble you, I will be silent; but you said that it would please you, at the said Bolton, to grant me not only a certain number of servants, by whom, at your pleasure, I was to be constantly served, but also some others, who could, with the passports of the warden and commission from those who have been put in charge of me, go and come from Scotland, to me or to you, when I should have any thing to represent to you. These licences from you, of new permissions to my said commissaries in my favour, I have explained to my lord the Earl of Shrewsbury and Master Knollys, who say "that they have no such commission from you," and they have refused to let me send any one to you, till such time as I can shew them a letter from you, making mention of some resolution requisite on the points proposed by my commissaries, whom they have commanded to depart without delay, according to their passports, with the declaration that they shall not have any access to me for the future, without your express command. On which I have prayed Master Knollys to make you a remonstrance on this and other little necessities, together with a declaration of my good-will towards you, with which I have sent this bearer, to repeat to me your good pleasure, when you shall have seen and understood the things required by me in a memorial addressed by me to my Lord the Earl of Leicester and Master Cecil, entreating you that by him you would make your good pleasure on all these points understood by me, and command my lord, the Earl of Shrewsbury, what it may please you for him to do about it; and because Master Knollys has promised me that you shall see my memorial and request, addressed

to your said two councillors, I will not importune you for the present with my particulars which I have set forth in the memorial, and the report of Master Knollys.

As to that which you were pleased to hint in your letter, that it was deemed strange that my commissioners have not entered into specialities, after having understood their reasons, I have advised with them that those who should return into Scotland should propose to the rest of my council and nobility, to give sufficient commission for conferring without scruple the specialities, that we shall think to be the most agreeable to you and to my honour, and the preservation of my dignity; in which neither they, nor I, could enter without their consent anew, for the things that have happened since, which put in doubt the freedom of my actions, being detained, as they could allege; and I assure you that I desire much to know your good pleasure before I proceed.

I supplicate you much for one thing, which is not to permit any more such shameful and disadvantageous overtures to be placed before me, as those to which the Bishop of Ross has been counselled to lend his ear. For, as I have prayed Master Knollys to testify to you, I have made a solemn vow to God never to surrender that place to which he has called me, as long as I feel within me the powers needful to sustain it; and, thanks to Him, I feel them augmented by the desire of acquitting myself better than before, and better qualified for it withal, by that which time and experience have brought.

I entreat you to believe that, in all other things which affect not my honour and estate [rank,] I wish to please you alone; and, if I might dare, I would remind you how much nearer I have approached to

you, and that I am ready to come myself and offer more particular conditions than I can do in the place where I am; I would say that this is all my desire.

In the mean time, with the advice of my council, I shall endeavour, on obtaining an answer from you, to do all that is possible to acquire your favour, which I protest I will never voluntarily incur the risk of losing, if I can but once obtain it. As for the other things which touch me, I will put them in a memorial, not to importune you, only to tell you that, as for the answers that are required, I shall be ready when it shall please you to admit me to your presence, to resolve you, and make apparent the falsity of their calumnies, and my own innocence, the which God will make manifest, as my hope is in Him. In the mean time, I beseech Him to give you, madam, in constant health, good and happy life.

From Tutbury,¹ this 10th of February, 1569.

P.S.—I have come to understand, madam, that my cousin the Duke of Chatelherault, notwithstanding your

¹ To Mary's regret, she was removed from Bolton Castle, January 26, 1568-9. In that inclement season she could not have travelled, if the Bishop of Durham had not lent Sir Francis Knollys sixteen horses. Lady Livingstone was taken ill by the way, and left at Rotherham till she recovered; and at Chesterfield, Mary was seized with her usual pain in her side, (which certainly proceeded from an indurated liver;) and she complained of a violent pain in her head; therefore, the whole cavalcade was forced to tarry at Mr. Folijamb's house, near Chesterfield, where they were well accommodated. The route of the captive queen lay through Wetherby, Pomfret, and Sheffield, to Tutbury, a castle of Lord Shrewsbury's, on the river Dove, in Staffordshire, destined to be Mary's prison at various epochs of her sad pilgrimage. It may be observed that Prince Labanoff's excellent annals of Mary mentions her removal to Tutbury at this time, but of the great mass of letters which Mary wrote in the spring of 1569, he has not yet printed any.

passport, has been arrested at York. I assure you that he has committed no offence, which makes me supplicate you to consider his necessity, and the long time that he remained beyond the term of his passport at your desire and command, and that he may be permitted to travel onwards.

May it please you to excuse if I write so badly, for this place is not habitable, and the cold has given me the rheumatism and severe pain in the head.

*The Queen of Scots to Catherine de Medicis.*¹

Tutbury, February 13, 1569.

Madame,—On the return of Henricke, one of my secretaries, by whom I have received the letters which you have been pleased to write to me, I learn the honour that you have done me, in having taken care not only of me, but of all my affairs. I have not failed, according to my duty, to render you my humble thanks for the honour it has pleased you to do, at my request, to George Douglas, my faithful servant, whom I recommend to you again, he having promised me that he will serve the king and you no less faithfully. As to news, I have none that are worth writing about, in the place where I am; but I pray God that you may have good and happy success in your affairs. Leaving the rest to be told by one of my servants, after I have presented my very humble commendations to your good grace, praying God to give you, madame, in health, long and happy life.

From Tutbury, the 13th of February.

Your very humble and very obedient daughter,

MARIE.

¹ From the Imperial Autograph Collection, St. Petersburg, No. 29.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elisabeth.¹

Tutbury, March 14, 1569.

Madam, my good sister,—The honour and natural friendship which I bear to you, makes me fear to importune and press² you, or it might appear that I distrusted your good nature by my complaints, which have been sometimes disagreeable to you. On the other hand, my conscience and natural pity of the blood that is shed of my faithful subjects, compel me to remonstrate with you, and in that sense I am obliged to do it. Wherefore I beseech you, first, to consider the just care that I ought to have of my people, which ought to supersede all worldly and private respects; secondly, the time I have spent in patience, in the hope of your favour; and without taking it as an offence or reproach from me, read my griefs and send me your determination, to learn which I have sent Borthwick, the present bearer, to you with a copy of some points contained in a proclamation made by my rebels, where they make mention of a sentence by you pronounced on the things in dispute, and by them falsely alleged recently in your presence and that of your council, which points I implore you to consider, and let me know your will by this bearer. The urgency of the case is too important to brook longer delay, without understanding your intentions both on that and this resolution which follows, which is to redress the unjust proceedings of your ministers on the borders, who are at Carlisle; for they capture my servants, seize and open their letters, and then send them to the court—very far from that which has been promised and written to me, who did not understand that I was to have less liberty than before. Very different is the treatment given to my rebels, with

¹ Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i., p. 283.² The original word is *fouir*, literally, to dig into, or bore any one.

whom, I think, I ought never to be put on an equality ; for they have been well received in your presence, with liberty to go and come ; and have been continually sent supplies of money, and, as they say, (which you will be pleased to see by this other letter,) assured of the support of men at their need. And thus are they maintained who have endeavoured falsely to accuse and brand me with infamy ; while I, who have come to throw myself into your arms as to my most assured friend, am refused the countenance which is given to these offenders. I shall be constrained, to my regret, to seek it elsewhere, if I am not, according to my hope and desire, assisted with promised succour. I have been detained far from my country ; and your presence, which is required for my justification, is denied ; and at length all means are abridged and cut off of hearing from my subjects, or making them understand my will.

I do not think I have merited such treatment. I have trusted in you, and you have confederated with my subjects and supported them. I have undertaken nothing but what you have advised ; neither have I, through your request and promises, sought any other friendship than yours : not only desiring to please you, but to obey you as a daughter would her mother. And it is fresh in memory, that at the return of the traitors, without the information of the Bishop of Ross, if it had not been for the persuasions of Master Knollys, that I should find no good by my party beginning, I might have had them well saluted at their crossing the border,¹ without their being given such good opportunity of levying soldiers for the ruin of my poor people.

In short, I have till now depended on you alone, and

¹ She positively forbade the Duke of Norfolk and her border friends to waylay and murder her half brother Murray, for which they were most eager. (See the despatches of La Mothe Fenelon and the Life of Mary, by the Sieur le Pesant du Bois Guilbert.)

desire to do so still, if you will please to accept my goodwill as the recompence for your amiable comfort, and accord prompt assistance to put an end to the oppression of these rebel subjects of mine ; for the fear of whose attempts against my faithful subjects, and my own honour and dignity, I require succour of you ; or else I shall be compelled to seek for it where God shall direct me. According to your reply, which I hope will be good, I shall dispose myself.

I have also charged the bearer to learn your determination on that which the Bishop of Ross and my Lord Boyd have done, of which I as yet know little, nor of other certain particulars, in which I entreat you to credit him, and not to take it in ill part, if in things so important I press you more than perhaps, (seeing that I am in your hands,) seems to you to the purpose ; but I can no longer defer it, nor support unjust treatment, without ruin to my dignity and offence to my conscience ; for as kindred impels me to you, so am I by your unloving treatment repelled. This I entreat of you, not to compel me to hold a different opinion of you than that which till now I have wished to maintain of so near a relative, and of whom I so much desire to be in the good graces, and to whom, presenting my affectionate commendations, I will pray God to give you, madam my good sister, in health, long and happy life.

From Tutbury, this 13th of March, 1569.

*The Queen of Scots to the Sieur de la Mothe Fenelon.*¹

Tutbury, March 15, 1569.

Monsieur de la Mothe,—I send again Borthwick,² the present bearer, to the queen of England, madam my good sister, for the causes that he will tell you, and

¹ Dépêches de la Mothe Fenelon, vol. i., p. 286.

² He was her equerry.

you will see by the copies of my letters. These have detained me so long, that I can do no more at present, than beg you to continue the good offices that you performed for me, in regard to them, as you know what is required. As to the rest, I should not forget to tell you, that instead of the bad news that lately, a little before the return of the bearer, had been told to me of France, I have sent the good that you have written to me by him, of the 23rd of the last month,¹ to those who had had letters from the court of England quite contrary to the fact, and far different from the good success, which thanks to God, they may now hope of the affairs of the king, monsieur my good brother.

It is impossible, Monsieur de la Mothe, that I should give you the satisfaction for many reasons that I receive from you. When I hear of anything that is going on at a distance, I am always in doubt till I receive letters from you ; for though I do not attach faith to all the rumours and alarms which they give me, I cannot help, meantime, being in pain. I am strictly guarded, as this bearer will tell you, and they stop all who visit me, and all messengers whom they suppose to have letters for me, or from me. If, however, I had a cipher in which to write to you, I should not have to put others to so much peril on these occasions, and I suppose, on your part, you might do the same. I have written to the Archbishop of Glasgow, my ambassador, and I beg you to take charge of the packet the bearer will give you, to send by the first opportunity ; and in the meantime, Monsieur de la Mothe, I pray God that he will give you that which you desire.

Written at Tutbury, the 15th of March, 1569.

Your very good friend,

MARIE R.

¹ The news of the victory of the Duke of Anjou over the Huguenots at Jarnac, which had been previously misrepresented to the captive queen as a defeat of the royalists.

*Queen Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots.*¹

March 31, 1569.

Madame,—Having learned your griefs, and understanding the great annoy, which you take about some words contained in the proclamations made on the part of your subjects, which signify that I had given sentence against you, I am much astonished how you could have felt such trouble in thinking them true; for if so be that they have written them (as how I know not), could it enter into your thought that I should have had so little value for my honour, or so much forgotten my natural affection for you, that I had condemned you before I had heard your reply, and that I should have so little regard to order, that I had concluded before I had begun?

You may remember that, after I had made known to you in what manner your subjects accused you, I wrote to you that I should await your declaration, and of the order that in this place they would take; and since that time I have hushed up the case, and never meddled with it since, save that I made my Lord Murray and the others oblige themselves, before me and my council, not to annoy your party, till that I should have heard what course you meant to take to bring this cause to some good end.

And while waiting, madame, for that resolution, which you have too much, I believe, delayed, a very strange event has happened, and if you are not cognisant of this, I should hold it too great a marvel. It is this, that yesterday John Wood made me a long declaration, how the duke² and the other lords have submitted to your son as to their king, and, by an harangue

¹ Dépêches de la Mothe Fenelon, vol. i. pp. 344, 56,

² The Duke of Chatelherault, the head of the house of Hamilton.

made by my Lord Herries before all the council, had approved of that which has passed touching your imprisonment, as having been wisely determined. The details are very long; and thinking they would weary you too much, I shall lay aside the pen. But in conclusion, they have agreed to some articles, which I send to you as they sent them to me, as in this they have been pleased to perform only the half of that which in words they had promised to me.

Perhaps, in the end, it is as well that you should not have been left ignorant either of my actions in your cause or of the proceedings of the others in regard to you. I have thought it best to send you word of what I know, and by whom I was informed of it. It is for you to judge of it, as the one it most nearly touches; and although I believe I have the power to prevail with them, I have let them know that I will not be mixed up with a matter of which I understand nothing; and, having received the intelligence from one party, I will not judge, but hold myself undecided till I shall have understood to the utmost from you. And having discharged the office of a good kinswoman, and knowing that I have always walked with worthy steps from the beginning to this hour, I thank God, that I have not been left to stumble, much less to fall against you; and with a clear conscience I call on Him to witness, who will be my judge, if I have not gone openly on my way without any feints. However, I entreat you to believe that some things must have been heard, at cross-purposes, which no creature living will ever be able to prove.

As to the other things contained in your letters, your servant will be able to answer you; and by my Lord Shrewsbury you will understand more fully, to whom may it please you to give credence, as to him who, I

hope, will do as I have commanded; and with this persuasion, I will detain you no longer, but will not cease to pray to the Creator to have you always in his holy keeping.

With my very cordial commendations, &c.

*The Queen of Scots to the Sieur de la Mothe Fenelon,
[in cipher].¹*

Probably from Wingfield, April 15, 1569.

Monsieur de la Mothe,—Since the news of this victory,² the Queen of England has changed her style of writing to me, as you will see by the copy of her letter, and would make me believe that this mutation does not proceed from that cause. They would persuade me that she and her council hold this news to be false and controverted; and that, on the contrary, the king has had the worst of it, and that that is the cause why he keeps his ports shut, not wishing that they should know the defeat and loss he has sustained, with other bad appearances, to which I attach about as much faith as I consider due to the fine words they have given me, after learning what the Queen of England said to the Duke of Chatelherault, when he came to take his leave of her, “that she approved of all the actions of the Earl of Murray and his associates; and that if the said duke, when in Scotland, would not recognise the king, he should neither have aid, support, nor favour, through her means; and that she would injure him in every way that it was possible for her to do.” Although the good man was half out of his senses;³ and so, perad-

¹ Dépêches de la Mothe Fenelon, vol. i. p. 348.

² That of Jarnac.

³ The Duke of Chatelherault was head of the house of Hamilton, and, by act of the Scottish parliament, the second person in Scotland, and heir-presumptive (after Mary's infant son) to the Scottish

venture, he has since condescended against his duty, having been practised upon and gained—or deluded by some vain hope, like as before he had been—or from the fear of seeing his children ruined.

I leave it to your judgment how to proceed in this case ; for, with the authority that I have given him, he has more than three-quarters of my realm and most of the nobles with him, and might be able to expel the Earl of Murray and all his adherents and accomplices. This, Monsieur de la Mothe, I will not hide from you,

throne. Lenox and his son Darnley were bitterly envious of this recognition ; because, though they were of the house of Stuart, the Hamilton was a degree nearer to the succession. Queen Mary had been extremely beneficent to the Duke of Chatelherault and his sons, Lord David, Lord John, and Lord Claude Hamilton. There was insanity in the family of Hamilton, to which Mary alludes in this letter. In a letter Drury (English envoy to Scotland) writes to Cecil thus, “the Lord David, son to the duke, is mad ; and Arbroath his brother (Lord John) is ill of the same disease.” Lord Claude Hamilton, the third son, was a partizan of Queen Mary, and his autograph will be found among the brave men who held out Dumbarton for her. The duke, his father, had rebelled with Murray in 1565, and been pardoned by Mary. His cause of discontent was because Darnley and his father Lenox were intriguing to displace the Hamiltons from the line of succession, and endeavouring to induce Queen Mary and the parliament to declare them (of the Lenox line of Stuart) next heirs to the crown, in case she should die without issue. This the queen would not do ; and it was the source of much of Darnley’s troublesome perversity. The Duke of Chatelherault contributed his share of annoyance to his tormented queen ; but he was at times passionately penitent for his ill conduct. Most of the Hamiltons were her gallant champions, and forty of them fell in her cause at Langside. There was a serious flaw concerning legitimacy in the royal claims of the Hamiltons ; and James the Sixth’s kinsman, Esme Stuart, Duke of Lenox, was by him recognized subsequently as heir-presumptive. The disputes between the Hamiltons and the *cadette* branch of Stuart, for reversionary claims on the succession, contributed not a little to the distractions of Scotland in the 16th century.

that you may know how I am treated, by the intelligence of my traitors with the Queen of England, and the need I have of the aid and favour of my friends.

*The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.*¹

Wingfield, on Good Friday.²

April 15, 1569.

Madam,—Inasmuch as the false allegations contained in the proclamations of my rebels, in your last, have given me vexation, although I had not attached much faith to them, as from those whom I had proved too well, so much the greater is the pleasure I take from your amiable declaration to the contrary in your courteous and favourable letter, to which I have not willingly deferred replying so long, as I greatly desire to make apparent to you my natural inclination in all things to seek your good grace. Also wishing to understand your favourable resolution on all my affairs, of which it has pleased you to give me advice, for which I thank you affectionately ; but I cannot inform you, in truth, of my own judgment thereupon, for I promise you, upon my faith, that I have not heard a single word from Scotland since my arrival here, save that which I sent you of the proclamation of my Lord Herries, from which I could not believe he had so much forgotten himself, as it appears by the articles that the Earl of Shrewsbury has shewn to me by your command. Nevertheless, these having been sent, I would much desire to learn the truth, and that with such diligence as the matter requires, if the messenger be not impeded, which I fear, although my lord of Shrewsbury has

¹ Dépêches de la Mothe Fenelon, vol. i. p. 346.

² So endorsed.

assured me of his passage. I promise to apprise you of the first certain information I receive by the Bishop of Ross, or others of my faithful servants. In the mean time, I can tell you, that if these things have thus happened, the despair they have at seeing me detained, and all means of communicating with me cut off, will have been the cause. I entreat you to consider this well, and that, *if* you have not commanded it, it is your ministers on the frontiers who have done the mischief; in consideration of which, and of the goodwill that I have had to dedicate myself to your service, as far as my rank and my honour would permit me to do, I beseech you to take a good resolution on this. Lastly, I write to you by this bearer touching my long and earnest request, whatever be the condition of Scotland, to replace me in my dignity by your support and favour, that, after God, I may be only obliged to you; for the ties of kindred, blood, friendship, and beneficence, lead me to expect that you will incline to that, and I (or, if it will please you, mine) will be ready to act to your satisfaction.

Otherwise, according to my last letter, you must not impute it to a failure of goodnature, if, not being provided with assistance by my nearest relation, I accept that succour from one more distant and less agreeable. I entreat you to reply to this by the bearer, for the time and the occasion require that I should be resolved; and having already, by your friendly letter, confirmed a sure hope of obtaining this my affectionate last request, I will not detain you longer, save to thank you for your favourable replies in all other things.

And after having begged you to give credit to the bearer of this, which he will require of you on my part, I will present my very affectionate commenda-

tions to your good grace, praying God that he will give you, &c.

From Wingfield.¹

*The Queen of Scots to the Sieur de la Mothe Fenelon.*²

Wingfield, April 18th, 1569.

Monsieur de la Mothe,—By letters that I have received from Scotland since the departure of the Bishop of Ross, I have learned how those things came to pass there,³ which is that the Duke of Chatelherault, and the others, who were still in my obedience, finding themselves destitute of all succour, and sore pressed by my rebels, who had had leisure to prepare themselves before the others were permitted to leave this country, and were, moreover, strengthened with money from this side to levy and maintain soldiers, and beyond this were openly assisted with English horse and foot by my Lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick, they have been constrained to dispose themselves to that which the Queen of England intimated to the Duke of Chatelherault at his departure, when she said, as I wrote to you a day or two ago, “that if he would not recognize the authority of my son, he might expect neither support nor favour from her, but, on the contrary, she

¹ This letter is the first we have yet found dated from Wingfield. Elizabeth, forgetting her own dire distress on the same anniversary some years before, had, on Palm Sunday, 1569, avowed in one of her letters, “that the Queen of Scots’ head should *never* rest;” and on this cruel principle she was removed, April 1569, from Tutbury to Wingfield, or Winkfield Castle, in Derbyshire. “Winkfield,” says Camden, “was a great and goodly manor, where Ralph, Lord Cromwell, state-minister in the reign of Henry VI., built a stately house.”

² *Dépêches de la Mothe Fenelon*, vol. i. p. 376.

³ The defection of her adherents, which had been so triumphantly reported to her by Queen Elizabeth in her letter of the 3rd of March.

would injure him whenever she could." Under these circumstances the said duke and Lord Herries trusted their persons to the Earl of Murray ; on which he, having them in his power, made them prisoners, and put them in the Castle of Edinburgh, where they are now to force them, as they are told, to agree to some articles which he has proposed to them, besides their submission. They have complained of him, and supplicate me to employ my friends in their behalf, protesting that what they have done was to reserve to themselves the power of serving me again, and to escape utter ruin, seeing that the Queen of England banded with my rebels ; and that, if to save their lives, and get out of prison, they have yielded peradventure to other things, they entreat me to believe (some security being given from my rebels) that this will be for no longer than such time as they can have succour. I pray you to make this known to the king, monsieur my brother-in-law, and madame my good mother, together with the negociation that you shall understand by the Bishop of Ross. I have written to them now, and remit the same to you, assuring myself that you will do in this, as in other things, the office of a good friend.

I hope that, God permitting, in a short time the said lord [the King of France] will so reduce all his rebels that, his own affairs being settled, he will have pity on mine, and that he will in the mean time take in hand to aid the Castle of Dumbarton, where are those of my realm who are still under my authority, and in the hope of recovering it through him. It is in such want of munitions, of large artillery, and of victuals, that if it be not succoured between this and the beginning of June, my Lord Fleming, who has the defence of it, will be constrained to surrender, and go himself with the others, as he has sent to me by his last advice, not hav-

ing means to hold out much longer. I beseech you, Monsieur de la Mothe, to represent this, to the end that he may be supplied if it be possible.

The Bishop of Ross will inform you more particularly of all things, for which cause I will not make this longer than to pray God to give you, Monsieur de la Mothe, that which you most desire, &c.

Added by way of postscript.

I have just received the advice herewith enclosed from the Earl of Huntley, of which I have had a translation made word for word, for the purpose of sending it to you. I believe that he will do as he has said, for besides the obligation that is due to me for his life and goods, which I have given him, he has a deadly feud with the Earl of Murray, who has done to death his father and his brother, and would do as much by him, and exterminate his house.

The Earl of Huntley holds still, in my name, all the northern counties in obedience, and has overawed all those who would league with my rebels. He is too far off to care for the succour the Queen of England can make to my said rebels; and, with a little aid, would have means to come and look after them, or, at the least, to take from them much of the country, and seize himself several places of importance; and if, from the side of Dumbarton, there were a union with him, the whole of the west country would be sure to rise in my favour, whatever appointment or promise there may be from the Duke of Chatelherault with the Earl of Murray and his complices, for neither of these two¹ can long continue, if the other be not wholly ruined and destroyed. I beseech you, Monsieur de la Mothe, to give information of this to the king, and supplicate him

¹ Huntley and Murray.

again to accord some succour to my poor afflicted realm; and if his own affairs will not permit him, as yet, to give me his entire support, that it will please him not to allow me to lose Dumbarton for the want of munitions and a little money.

Written the last day of April, at Wingfield.

*The Earl of Huntley to the Queen of Scots.*¹

(Enclosed in her letter to La Mothe Fenelon.)

I have before this written to your majesty, by the means of the Lord Herries, the trick that the Duke of Chatelherault, and those of that side, have played, in agreeing with the Earl of Murray, of which I knew nothing, till they summoned me one day to Edinburgh, which I refused; and therefore I entreat your majesty to hasten him to explain his intentions; for being so distant from the others, I am not assured of any but my Lord Crawford, and my Lord Ogilvie, who have had nothing to do with them. Wherefore, if I can avoid my total ruin, I will not do anything till I have your majesty's instructions; otherwise, I entreat you not to take in evil part anything that I may do; and be assured, that as long as I live, you will find me faithful to your service, and that I would rather meet my death by the traitors, than do aught to displease your majesty.

¹ Dépêches de la Mothe Fenelon, vol. i., p. 379. It must be observed that the queen says in the foregoing letter that she has had a translation made from the Earl of Huntley's letter into French, from which we are forced to re-translate it into English. Under all these disadvantages it is an important document, tending to exonerate Mary's subjects from the dishonour of having abandoned her in distress, for it shews that the great body of the Scottish nation were warmly in her favour, but that the vacillating intellect of the duke of Chatelherault, whose unfortunate malady was cunningly played upon by Murray and his faction, prevented Mary's friends from co-operating to her advantage.

They have very shamefully deceived you ; and before the mischief has fallen on me, which I should not in the least regard, provided that I could serve your majesty, I supplicate very humbly for a speedy succour of foreigners, or the return of your majesty, if it be possible.

Of whatever sort it may be, if an army come from France, cause the descent to be made on the north, for there it is the most sure, and I will hazard all for your service.

However matters may have happened, the Duke of Chatelherault has not acted honourably in your majesty's cause, neither to me, which makes me supplicate very humbly that you would hasten the aid of France and Spain, and I will take the thing on me. Two thousand—even five hundred men—would suffice, with proper munitions, and with them I would do it. I entreat your majesty to be assured that all Europe shall know that my life, and all that I have, are at your command.

The bearer is sure, and I beseech your majesty to send to me by him what it will please you that I should do.

*The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.*¹

Wingfield, April 24, 1569.

Madam my good sister,—Seeing that the term is now passed of eight or ten days that I have waited the return of Sandy Bog, one of my servants (whom incontinently after the receipt of your favourable letters sent by Borthwick, I despatched,) I would not defer sending you our councillor, the Bishop of Ross, present bearer, to entreat you to let me be no longer passive as to what

¹ Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i., p. 380, 381.

my rebels do, neither incur further delay on any account ; for I already fear that the length of my stay, and the rudeness of your borderers, and the strict guard where I am kept, have too much staggered the fidelity of my obedient subjects, seeing themselves thus deprived of my presence, and of all certain intelligence of my will and intention. It is this, I am persuaded, that has induced them to take so false and dastardly a turn, as that of which you were pleased to inform me you had heard from my rebels,¹ such being the case, I have no reliance but on you, and much rather do I implore your support and aid, than my longer abode here, and patient waiting of your good pleasure, which is the cause of all this harm. I am, I assure you, in great need of your shewing me your natural kindness, for which I supplicate you, considering that common proverb,—*bis dat, qui tempestive dat.*²

I have sought you above all other princes, because I would prefer above all others to receive obligation from you ; more at length, I have given charge to the said bishop to make you an instant request, with the declaration of my sincere and natural affection for you, and how I shall be as much beholden to you for quick and favourable assistance, as I am bound to you by blood and nature. I entreat you to believe all that he will say to you, as much as if it were said by myself ; and to let him have your prompt determination ; for the state of my affairs, as may be well supposed, and the long time that I am here detained, to my regret, and the season proper to make a journey, require, either that I should at last receive your good help, or resolve with

¹ See Elizabeth's previous letter of March 31, when with much grimace of sympathy, she informs Mary that her partizans have submitted to Murray.

² *Who timely gives, gives twice.*

your goodwill to seek it elsewhere. Above all, doubt not the full sufficiency of the Bishop of Ross.

I will pray God, after having presented to you my very humble commendations, that He will, &c.

The Same to the Same.

April 25th, 1569, at Wingfield.

Madam my good sister,—As soon as I received your letters by Borthwick, I despatched one of my servants, named Alexander Bok, [apparently the Sandy Bog of the preceding letter,] into Scotland, for whom I waited till the 20th day, at the end of which term, not having any other news, and being informed that Mylor Husdon [Lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick] had assisted and strengthened my rebels in person, accompanied by the bands of Berwick, for the inforcement of the usurped administration of Mora [Murray] and his accomplices ; and that, a servant of the Duke of Chatelherault, who had already had his commission, was sent after, and arrested by the information of Mora, and his letters taken, which I believe were for me, so that I can hear nothing from thence ; all which makes me believe that I am in danger of remaining wholly without news from Scotland, if you do not please to issue different orders. Wherefore, I will no longer defer to despatch my councillor, the Bishop of Ross, present bearer, to supplicate you, that, without further waiting the good or evil deportment of my subjects, you will resolve on a direct reply ; and, according to my long and urgent request, either return me to my realm, or, still better, permit me to depart to seek succour from other princes, my allies and friends. For it is now more than a year since I first awaited your resolution, during which time my rebels have greatly strengthened themselves. Therefore I cannot any longer, by my own consent, brook

farther delay, without resolving me for what cause, as more at length the Bishop of Ross shall declare to you on my part, to whom I supplicate you give credit as to myself.

I send my affectionate recommendations to your good grace, praying God that he will give you, &c. &c.

*The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.*¹

Wingfield, April 28, 1569.

Madam my good sister,—Having, since the departure of Sandy Bog, received letters from my obedient subjects by a gentleman of mine, and, among others, from the Duc de Chatelherault [Hamilton,] complaining that they are detained prisoners, and menaced, if they do not agree to all that will please Mora [Murray,] and his accomplices, it seems to me that you ought to be informed of all this, since their enemies [i. e. Murray and party] tell you that they [Mary's partizans] have freely consented to the usurpations; and also to remind you that, in the last letter you sent me, you had issued orders that Mora should not have recourse to arms; yet I will declare to you, that this he nothing heeds. Since he thus detains my subjects—the principal among them—forcing them to avow and approve of his perverse actions against me, there is no time to lose. Wherefore, without longer amusing me, give me a brief reply by the Bishop of Ross, or return me directly (according to my request) into my own country, or altogether refuse me, for your choice between these two positions cannot longer be delayed.

The state of my affairs constrains me to speak to you thus freely, and to press you once more for your speedy determination; for any other reply or delay

¹ Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i., p. 382.

that I may receive from you I shall regard but as a direct refusal, which will force me (to my regret) to embrace any other aid which it may please God to send me. I have not, therefore, failed to send you this full warning, to the end that you might not hold me in ill-will, or take offence at what will follow, assuring you that I will not willingly do anything to offend or displease you, otherwise than to save my state, and to deliver my oppressed subjects from the injustice of my rebels.

I supplicate you, madam, to bind me to you by amity and good offices, rather than by strict guard; my only desire, as the fruit of my labour here, being to render you all the duty and friendship which can be offered by a loved and dear sister, as I have instructed my councillor, the Bishop of Ross, to make you understand more at length, on my part; to whom referring, I will conclude, praying God, &c. &c.

*The Queen of Scots to the Sieur La Mothe Fenelon.*¹

Wingfield, May 7, 1569.

Monsieur La Mothe,—I have been very glad to see, by the letters of the king, monsieur my good brother, the good news of the victory that it has pleased God to give him;² but I am in pain that I have not heard from the queen, madame, my good mother, and that there are still flying reports that the foes are the strongest. I pray you, Monsieur de la Mothe, to write to me freely and fully the whole truth.

If I can obtain leave for one of my people to go, I should not fail to send word how much I rejoice with

¹ From the despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i., p. 390—391.

² Mary alludes to the famous battle of Jarnac, where the Huguenots were defeated by the Royalists under the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. of France.

the king at the happy success of his affairs ; if not, I will address my letters to you at the first convenience.

I pray God to give you, Monsieur de la Mothe, that which you most desire.

P.S. (*in cipher.*) I entreat you not to allow, in the mean time, the occasion to pass of representing to the king the necessity of prompt succour for Dumbarton, and the importance of that place ; and assure yourself, that, if ever I find means to escape from where I now am, I shall never diminish my good-will and affection towards those to whom it is due. It seems to me, Monsieur de la Mothe, that if you were at this season to speak a little sharply to the Queen of England, I should be better off.

*The Queen of Scots to the Bishop of Ross.*¹

Wingfield, May 15, 1569.

Monsieur de Ross,—Having the convenience of sending to you at present, I have much wished to give you some account of my health, fearing that you would be in pain from having, perhaps, learned the state I was in this morning, which was like that in which you saw me at Jeddart. I had taken pills at eight o'clock, and was suddenly taken with shivering and vomiting, and fell several times into convulsions, in which I remained till an hour after noon ; but, thanks to God, I feel myself much recovered, and hope I shall soon find myself better.² If any of my friends have heard anything

¹ La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i. p. 422.

² This attack of illness was so violent, that the French ambassador, M. La Mothe Fenelon, wrote to the king of France,—“ The Queen of Scots has been extremely ill ; and word was sent to me yesterday evening at vespers, that she was dead ; but at eleven o'clock at night I had information that, on the contrary, she was better, and that she is in good hopes of recovery ; and this has been

of this, you can put them out of pain; and, in the mean time, I pray God to have you, Monsieur de Ross, in his holy care.

*The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.*¹

Wingfield, May 15, 1569.

Madam, — Having understood, by the Bishop of Ross, my councillor, that some objections were made to hinder the prompt demonstrations of your goodwill to wards me, on the allegation that I had made some contracts with Monsieur d'Anjou, the brother of the king, monsieur my brother, which might prejudice you, I therefore force myself to write, not having yet recovered my health, by these ill-written letters to assure you, on my conscience, honour, and credit, that I have never made any contract with him nor any other; neither have I ever done anything that could tend to your prejudice, since I have arrived at years of discretion; nor would I do anything so disadvantageous to my country and myself, as to make such contract or change. Of this I can give you any proof, assurance, and pledge, that you may please to desire, as the Bishop of Ross

further confirmed this morning from good authority. I wish I could recover the copy of a letter which she has written during her great sickness to this queen, touching the cession of her right and title to this kingdom, and the objections she has made to monsieur the brother of your majesty." In another letter, to the queen-mother of France, after giving the particulars of Mary's alarming illness, he adds,—"This queen has sent her physician to her, and appeared as if she would have been glad if she could restore her to her former state. I hope the power and the name of your majesty will assist to accommodate the affairs of the said lady, without inconvenience to yourself; she is in great want of money for the most trifling necessities."—*Dépêche de La Mothe Fenelon to the queen-mother of France*, vol. i. p. 403.

¹ La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i. p. 422.

will tell you more at length. I entreat you to believe him, and excuse me, for I am too feeble to write to you as I could wish on this subject; only I force myself to render you the testimony of my hand, which I call on God to witness, and pray Him to have you in His holy keeping.

This Sunday morning, 15th of May, 1569.

*Elizabeth, Queen of England, to the Queen of Scots.*¹

Greenwich Palace, May 25, 1569.

Madam,—To my infinite regret, I have learned the great danger in which you have lately been, and I praise God that I heard nothing of it, until the worst was past; for, in whatever time or place it might have been, such news could have given me little content; but if any such bad accident had befallen you in this country, I believe, really, I should have deemed my days prolonged too long, if, previous to death, I had received such a wound.

I rely much on His goodness who has always guarded me against mal-accidents, that He will not permit me to fall into such a snare, and that He will preserve me in the good report of the world till the end of my career. He has made me know, by your means, the grief I might have felt if anything ill had happened to you; and I assure you, that I will offer up to Him infinite thanksgivings.

As to the reply, that you wish to receive by my Lord Boyd, regarding my satisfaction in the case touching the Duke of Anjou,² I neither doubt your honour nor

¹ Translated from vol. ii. pp. 59, 60, Despatches of La Mothe Fénelon. Elizabeth's letter seems to have been originally composed in French.

² This was the cession supposed to have been made by Mary to Anjou.

your faith, in writing to me that you never thought of such a thing, but that perhaps some relative,¹ or rather some ambassador of yours, having the general authority of your signature to order all things for the furtherance of your affairs, had adjusted this promise as if it came from you, and deemed it within the range of his commission.

Such a matter would serve as a spur to a courser of high mettle; for as we often see a little bough serve to save the life of a swimmer, so a slight shadow of claim animates the combatant. I know not why they [the royal family of France] consider not that the bark of your good fortune floats on a dangerous sea, where many contrary winds blow, and has need of all aid to obviate such evils, and conduct you safely into port. And if so be they are able to serve you in aught, still you can in honour deny the intention [of transferring her rights to young Anjou]; for if this right abides in them, then to me pertains the wrong.

Forasmuch I entreat you, to have such consideration for me, (to whom the like right only pertains, who have merited, on your part, true guerdon and honourable opinion,) with such deeds as may preserve the true accord of harmony with mine, who, in all my actions towards you, will never fail of right dealing.

Howbeit, this bearer will declare to you more amply what I wish in this case. Moreover, if you desire some reply as to the commission given to my Lord Ross, [the Bishop of Ross,] I believe that you forget how near it touches me if I tamper with aught that I am satisfied touches your honour and my safety. Meantime, I will not fatigue you with this letter longer than that, with my cordial commendations, I pray God to preserve you

¹ Meaning her mother, Mary of Guise, queen-regent of Scotland, or the regent Arran.

in good health, and give you long life. From Greenwich.¹

*Acts relative to the cession made by Mary Stuart of her rights to the Crown of England.*² •

These papers, which are extracted from the archives of France, are under the following titles :—

1st. An act of donation made by Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, to the profit of Henry II., the 4th of April, 1558, twenty days before her marriage with the dauphin, of the kingdom of Scotland, and all her rights to the throne of England, if she should die without children.³

¹ A copy of this letter was sent by Mary, Queen of Scots, to the French ambassador for the inspection of Catherine de Medicis. La Mothe Fenelon states the highly curious fact, that the point of the cession which Mary, Queen of Scots, had been supposed to have made of her kingdom to the Duke of Anjou, was first inquired into in parliament by the Duke of Norfolk, ostensibly on account of the public benefit, but with a secret regard to his own interest, as he was engaged to marry Mary.

² Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i. pp. 423, 424.

³ Pressed as Elizabeth was in the foregoing urgent letters of Mary, Queen of Scots, either to afford her aid, or let her depart, she gave as her reasons for the treatment that queen had received since her arrival, that a heavy grievance existed of which she had to complain, to wit, that Mary had bequeathed all her rights to the crown of England, in case she died without children, to Henry, Duke of Anjou, second son of Henry II. and Catherine de Medicis.

It appears on the very face of the above deed, that the cession signed by Mary, when a girl of fourteen, was not made to benefit Anjou, but Henry II. himself. Only the titles are offered to our readers, as we are unwilling to load our pages with any state papers which do not directly bear on the personal history of Mary; the existence of these papers does so, but not their detail (for which see La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i. pp. 423 to 433), which is merely technical. Mary, supposing she had at last discovered the secret cause of her mysterious detention in England, wrote urgently by the French •

2nd. Another act, made the same day, equally to the profit of Henry II., containing solely an engagement for the crown of Scotland, to abandon to him all the revenues of that kingdom, till the entire reimbursement of the sum owed to France, valued at a million of gold pieces.

3rd. A last act, subscribed the same day by Mary Stuart, containing a formal renunciation of all she had been forced to do by the States of Scotland.

4th. A declaration made by Charles IX., on the demand of Elizabeth, July 10, 1569, stating that Mary Stuart had not made any cession of her rights to the English crown to the Duc d'Anjou.

5th. The same declaration, signed by the Duc d'Anjou on the 17th of July, 1569.

A similar declaration was signed by the queen-ambassador, La Mothe Fenelon, to implore Charles IX., Henry of Anjou, and Catherine de Medicis, to humour the jealousy of Elizabeth, by denying that she had given such right to Anjou. They immediately executed deeds denying that Anjou had such cession, in hopes that Mary would be enabled forthwith to treat for her liberty with Elizabeth. The precedent for this cession, extorted from Mary by the ambition of her father-in-law, Henry II., appears to have been one made by his mother, Queen Claude, as Duchess of Bretagne, which annexed that duchy for ever to the crown of France, even in the case of the failure of her heirs : and that came to pass in the same century, when Henry IV. ascended the throne of France, to the disparagement of the lineal heirs of Bretagne. After all, the cession made by Mary, was to *Henry II. and his successors*. If Elizabeth could have seen the original deed, she would have perceived that it was Charles IX., *as successor* of Henry II., who should have *renounced this cession, and not Anjou*, who is not named therein. The editor of the Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon justly observes, that Camden, Rapin, Robertson, Keralio, and, indeed, most authors of the preceding century, have vague allusions to these deeds, without any certain knowledge of what they really were.

mother, Catherine de Medicis, by the Cardinal de Lorraine, uncle to Mary, and by the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador; (but these last acts are not found among the ambassador's papers.)

*Declaration of M. le Duc d' Anjou, of the donation of the title to the crown of England, alleged to have been made to him by the Queen of Scotland.*¹

July 17, 1569.

Henry, son and brother of the king, Duke of Anjou and the Bourbonnois, Count de Forests, and first peer of France, lieutenant-general of the king, representing his person in all the countries, lands, and lordships in his obedience, to all which these present letters give greeting.

The Queen of Scotland, our very dear and well-beloved sister-in-law, has made us understand that, being willing to treat with the Queen of England, our cousin, on the differences which have been for a long time between them, regarding the title to the crown of England, —it being set forth and alleged by the Queen of England and her council, that they have heard and been advised that our said sister-in-law, the Queen of Scotland, has given to us all the right and title which she has or can pretend to the crown of England, and that the said cession and donation has been approved and confirmed by the authority of our holy father the pope; and further, that we, as cessionary of the said Queen of Scotland, would pursue by arms the right which, for the said reasons, could appertain to us, and that we have deliberated to make incursion into England on this pretext and colour.

¹ Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i., p. 433, from the Archives du Royaume.

On the occasion of such advertisements, the said Queen of England has delayed to adjust and accord the said differences with her, the aforesaid Queen of Scotland, our sister-in-law; alleging that by the like means she had not the power of contracting with assurance, if firstly, there appeared not our declaration, containing the truth of the fact, and likewise that of the king, our lord and brother, and the queen, our very honoured lady and mother.

For this being duly and well informed, we declare and affirm, on the faith and the word of a prince, that the said cession of the right and title which can be claimed by our said sister-in-law, the queen of Scotland, to the crown of England has never been made by her, nor by any other having power or commission from her, nor thought of; neither has it been approved by our holy father the pope; neither have we ever had any will or intention of any war or invasion of the country of the said Queen of England or her realm, by occasion of such cession or donation; and such information as has been given and reported can be but falsely and maliciously raised by persons, who are jealous and envious of the conservation of the mutual amity and good intelligence which is between the king, our lord and brother, and the said Queen of England.

WE, for this cause, certify and assure all that it may concern, that all which is above is truth, on our honour and conscience.

In testimony of which we have signed these presents with our hand, and on it put the seal of our arms.

Given at the camp of Ambazac,¹ the seventeenth

¹ The late victory of Jarnac had made the Duke of Anjou the hero of the Catholic party in Europe, and at this time he was still in arms to reduce the Huguenots in his brother's dominions, which made him appear in a formidable position. Elizabeth, in this deed,

of July, the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-nine.

(Thus signed,) HENRY.

[Sealed with red wax, and on the back,

By monseigneur the duke, son and brother of the king.]

SARRES.

*The Queen of Scots to La Mothe Fenelon.*¹

September 20, 1569.

Monsieur de la Mothe,—I send to you the present bearer, to inform you that I shall be transferred to-morrow to Tutbury, and from thence to Nottingham, where I shall be put in the hands of the two greatest enemies I have, to wit, the Earls of Huntingdon and Hertford,² and others of their faction who have already arrived here. I have found no reliance on my Lord Shrewsbury in the hour of my need, for all the fine speeches he made to me formerly, yet I can in no wise depend on his promise.

All these things considered, I feel in alarm for my life, and entreat you, as soon as you receive this to send this packet to the Bishop of Ross, or rather to the Duke of Norfolk, and hold a consultation with them and my

is represented as if in a state of personal alarm at the likelihood of his invasion, not very usual to an English sovereign, nor much justified by the real state of France.

¹ Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. ii. p. 254—5.

² They were the representatives of the Calvinist or Puritan faction in England, the party which placed Lady Jane Grey on the throne. Huntingdon, though the great-nephew of Cardinal Pole, had been a puritan since he married Dudley, Duke of Northumberland's daughter; Hertford considered his children by Lady Catherine Grey heirs to the throne of England, by virtue of the will of Henry VIII. Hence their enmity to the lineal heiress.

other friends as to what is most expedient for my safety ; and even to speak to the Queen of England, as much as possible to hinder my removal, if it is practicable for you to obtain an audience.

From Wingfield,¹ this 20th of September, 1569.

*The Queen of Scots to La Mothe Fenelon, French Ambassador.*²

Tutbury, Sept. 25, 1569.

I believe you know how rudely I have been treated, prevented from writing or receiving letters of any kind, my servants driven away, and all my people searched.

I am here at Tutbury, where they tell me that my Lord Huntingdon will take charge of me. He pretends to the same right to which I pretend, and thinks to have it³—judge if my life is in safety. I entreat you to con-

¹ When the plot of Leonard Dacres for delivering the Queen of Scots was discovered, she was removed from Wingfield to Tutbury Castle, where she was strictly guarded. From this castle she writes the next letter, five days afterwards. In November the northern rebellion broke out, and the rebels, on the 21st of that month, came as near to Tutbury as Tadcaster, (Cecil's Diary). The Earls of Huntingdon and Hertford came to help Shrewsbury in the charge of the Scottish queen. On the 25th they removed her to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, the seat of the Earl of Huntingdon, and the next day to Coventry, where they had no furniture, and wrote, in this dilemma, to know Elizabeth's pleasure. They staid, nevertheless, at Coventry over Christmas. Mary was conducted back to Tutbury from Coventry, January, 1569-70. From Sadler's Papers it appears that Tutbury was a convenient place of detention, because its access through the passes of the hills was difficult, and a watch of soldiers could be kept in the villages perched on the circle of hills that surrounded the castle.

² Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. ii. p. 263.

³ Whatever claim the Earl of Huntingdon could have made to the English throne must have been founded on the illegitimation of the whole of Edward the Fourth's progeny by Act of Parliament, in the reign of Richard III.

sult with those known to be my friends; likewise say to the Queen of England, that if any harm happens to me, being, as I am, consigned to the hands of persons suspected of bearing me no goodwill, she will be considered by the king, my brother-in-law, and all other princes, the cause of my death. Use this information according to your discretion, and warn the Duke of Norfolk to take care of himself, for they threaten him with the Tower.

Confer with the Bishop of Ross directly on this, for I am not aware that he knows anything of it. I have sent four of my servants, at all hazard, to let him know. But I know not whether they will pass, for Bourtic [Borthwick] was taken and searched, but he had hidden his letters on the way, from whence I found means to have them withdrawn.

I have written to the king, [Charles IX.] and to the queen-mother, and I have sent the packet to be delivered to you or to Ross. Send my excuses, if they have not heard from me, and entreat their favour for me.

I entreat that you will make the Spanish ambassador accompany you to speak in my favour, for my life is in danger while in their hands, [of Huntingdon and party]. Encourage and advise with my friends, to hold themselves on their guard, and to act for me now or never.

Keep secret this letter, so that no one knows anything of it, or I shall be guarded more strictly than ever; and give your letters *de faveur* to this bearer secretly, for my Lord Shrewsbury's *ship*,¹ the most sure and favourable that can be, for that will serve me greatly to find favour towards him, but if it is known, you ruin me! Some means must be found that I may learn your news through some of the English here; one might try

¹ The Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury had two or three ships belonging to them, which were often sailing from the northern ports with slate, lead, &c., and the products of their estates.

the Mayor of Derby ; and remind Ross of the vicar near here, for he will act for me also.

I beg you to have compassion on a poor prisoner in danger of her life, and without having offended. If I stay any time here, I shall not only lose my kingdom, but my existence ; if they could inflict no worse ill than the grief I feel at losing all intelligence of, and all hope of succouring, my faithful subjects. If prompt remedy be not found, then God grant me patience ! and that I may die in his law, and in goodwill towards the King and Queen of France, to whom I implore make my moan, and to the Cardinal of Lorraine, my uncle.

(Postscript added since the letter was written.)

Since writing this letter Huntingdon has returned, having from the queen the absolute charge of me. The Earl of Shrewsbury, at my request, has prevented him from taking me away, until a second order arrives [from Queen Elizabeth.] I entreat you to represent the violation of the law of nations, by placing me in the hands of one who is a competitor for the crown as well as I am. You know also the great difference in our religions.

I beg also you will write, and favourably, by the ship of the said Earl of Shrewsbury, by this bearer, and let it be secret.

From Tutbury, Sept. 25, 1569.

[The next despatch from the French ambassador, dated September 27, 1569, containing the piteous appeal of the poor prisoner, written on the 25th of the same month, was violently seized upon in the following manner. He had sent his courier to Lord Cobham for a passport : when in a wood about three miles from the house of Lord Cobham, several masked horsemen beset him, flung him

from his horse, and demanded the French letters; they then bound him, tied him to a tree, left him there, and carried off his papers. La Mothe Fenelon made bitter complaints of this violation of the law of nations, and entreated that reprisals might be made on Elizabeth's ambassador. He sent, however, copies of his despatch.]

La Mothe Fenelon to the King of France.

September 27, 1569.

The Queen of England sent a gentleman to the Queen of Scots without any letter, but he was charged to speak to her, before the Earl of Shrewsbury, on her intentions of marrying the Duke of Norfolk, and that she ought not to have thought of it without her knowledge. The Queen of Scots inquired of the gentleman, if he had letter or commission from the queen his mistress to tell her so; when the Earl of Shrewsbury advanced, and told her that his commission was very well-known to him. The Queen of Scots replied—"Such affirmation sufficed not for conduct which touched her so nearly; that if he, the Earl of Shrewsbury, had seen the person's commission, *she* had not; that although the Queen of England had not written to her, she should write to her forthwith." She accordingly wrote a very courteous and sage letter, and sent it in reply by the said gentleman, with which the Queen of England may possibly rest satisfied. And the Bishop of Ross has gone to seek an interview with Queen Elizabeth at Windsor, to remove from her mind those bad impressions which have caused her to double the guard of his queen, and even to commit it to the Earls of Huntingdon and Hertford, her sworn enemies. Meantime the Duke of Norfolk comes no more to court, but has gone to Norfolk without the leave of Elizabeth.

October 18th.

[*Fenelon*,¹ after mentioning the arrest of *Sir de Trogmorton* and *Robert Ridolfi*, and the preparation for trial of the *Duke of Norfolk*, adds,] “There is some appearance that the Queen of Scots will be soon removed to another place; it is thought *Quillingourt*, a seat of the Earl of Leicester—(*he means Kenilworth.*) She displays the utmost magnanimity, and a great and virtuous mind, surrounded by evils and adverse fortune. We assist her here all we can, and give her all the consolation possible, by letters and expediting her affairs, as you are pleased to command me.”

November 9th.

She is treated with great severity, but has found means to forward to me four letters enclosed² which I really believe she has written without light. I assure your Majesty they will move you to compassion. The Duke of Norfolk is in the Tower, his guards are doubled for the last few days.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Tutbury, November 10, 1569.

Madam my good sister,—Wishing to exercise to the utmost the patience which it has pleased God to bestow on me in my adversity, I have refrained, as long as possible, from importuning you with my complaints, trusting that time, the father of truth, and your own

¹ Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. ii. p. 285. Oct. 18, 1569.

² The four little letters written by Mary “without light,” enclosed, were lost in the adventure detailed at the end of this journal, vol. ii. extracted from La Mothe Fenelon’s current despatches. He had preserved a copy of his despatches as we see, but not of the little letters, for which, most likely, the attack was made.

good disposition, would lead you to perceive the malice of my enemies, who strive to trample me to the earth, and move you to pity one of your own blood—your equal; who, next to God, has chosen you from among all other princes for her refuge, confiding in your favourable letters and kind promises, strengthened by the ties of consanguinity and near neighbourhood, so that I have placed myself voluntarily, and without constraint, in your hands and power, where I have remained above two years, sometimes in hopes of your favour and support from your courteous letters, at others, driven to despair by the underhand dealings and the false reports of my enemies.

Nevertheless, my affection for you has always led me to hope for the best, and to suffer my wrongs patiently; but now that you listen to the malice of my rebels, as the Bishop of Ross informs me, refusing to hear the just complaint of her who has placed herself voluntarily in your power, and thrown herself into your arms, I have presumed once more to try my fortune, and to appeal to the queen my good sister herself. Ah, madam, what stronger proof of my friendship can I offer than in thus putting my trust in you! And in return, will you destroy the hope which is placed in you by your sister and cousin, who neither can nor sought to obtain succour elsewhere? Shall my confidence in you be disappointed, my patience prove vain, and the friendship and respect I cherish for you, be despised to such a degree that I cannot obtain what you could not justly refuse to the greatest stranger in the world? I have never offended you, but have loved and honoured you, and tried by all means to please you, and to assure you of my kind disposition towards you. False reports have been made to you about me, which you have credited so far as to treat me, not as a queen and relative, come to

seek support of you under your promise of favour, but as a prisoner, to whom you can impute the offence of a subject.

Since, madam, I cannot obtain permission to declare to you, face to face, my sincerity towards you, at least permit Monsieur de Rosse, my ambassador, to give you an account of my public as well as private deportment, as he has on many occasions witnessed the grief I feel at not knowing wherein I have offended you, and on being compelled to repeat my old requests, respecting which I beg you to answer him and me too, namely, that it may please you, according to my first requests, to oblige me for ever, by assisting me with your support to recover the state to which it has pleased God to call me among my subjects, as you have always promised; or if consanguinity, my affection for you, and my long patience, should not seem to you to deserve this, at least do not refuse me the liberty to depart as freely as I came, and to retire either to France or elsewhere among my friends and allies; or, should it please you to use rigour, and treat me as an enemy (which I have never been to you, nor desire to be), allow me to redeem myself from my miserable imprisonment by ransom, as is the custom among all princes, even those who are enemies, and give me opportunity to negotiate with the said princes, my friends and allies, for raising the said ransom.

And, meanwhile, I entreat you, as I have entrusted my person to you, and offered in all things to follow your counsel, that I may not be injured by the extortions of my rebels against my faithful subjects, and that I may not be weakened, for having relied on your promises, by the loss of Donbertran [Dumbarton.]

And if the false reports of my enemies prevent you

from bestowing any consideration on these points and my humble requests, and you are resolved to take amiss all I have done with the intention of pleasing you, at least do not permit my life to be endangered without having deserved it, although the Abbot of Donfermelin has spread a report, and boasted that it is your intention, which I cannot believe, to put me into the hands of my rebel subjects, or other such in that country whom they equally approve of, and with whom I am not acquainted. I protest that I have never had the wish to offend you, or to do any thing which could displease you ; nor have I merited the cruel return of being so slighted, as the Bishop of Rosse has already assured you, and will do again, if you but please to grant him an audience. Wherefore, I beseech you most humbly, and as above, to acquaint him with your determination ; if not out of affection, let it be out of pity. You have experienced what it is to suffer affliction ; you may thence judge what others suffer from it.

You have listened long enough to my enemies and their inventions to make you suspicious of me ; it is time to consider what are their motives for this, and their double-dealing towards me, and what I am to you, and the affection towards you which has induced me to come to a place where you have such power over me. Call to mind the offers of friendship which you have made me, and the friendship which you have promised me, and how desirous I am to please you, insomuch as to have neglected the support of other princes, by your advice and on the promise of yours. Forget not the rights of hospitality in my case alone, and weigh all this with the respect of your confidence, honour, and pity for one of your own blood, and then I trust I shall have no occasion to repent me.

Consider also, madam, what place I have filled, and how I was brought up, and, if experiencing, by means of my rebels or other enemies, so different a treatment from that, from hands from which I hoped for every comfort, how ill I can support such a burden, added to that of your displeasure, which is hardest of all to bear, which I have never deserved ; nor to be so closely imprisoned, that I have no means of receiving intelligence about my affairs, or taking any steps whatever for settling them, or consoling in the least such of my faithful subjects as are suffering on my account. Far am I from supporting them as I hoped. Again I beseech you, let not the false reports and malicious designs of my enemies make you forget so many other points in my favour ; and, lastly, if nothing else can move your natural pity, despise not the prayers of the kings, my good brothers and allies, to whose ambassadors I have written, begging them to make urgent intercession with you in my behalf.

And that you may not take it amiss, I entreat you to excuse me, if, in case you will not listen to your natural kindness and pity, for which I have loved and honoured you so much, I beg them to inform the said kings of my necessity, and to solicit them to lend that aid in my affairs which I have expected from you, and which I now crave from you before any other. If you are pleased to grant it me, as I hope, you will find in the end that I have never deserved to lose it. If in this, or in any point of my letter, I offend you, excuse it, on account of the extreme urgency of my cause and the infinite trouble that I am in.

I conclude, by referring to the Bishop of Rosse, who will give you every information, and beg you to credit him as myself, who present my humble recommenda-

tions, praying God to make you thoroughly acquainted with both my intention and my conduct.

From Tutbury, this x of November [1569].

Your very kind and affectionate
Sister and cousin,

MARY R.

I beg you to excuse me if I write ill, for my imprisonment makes me unwell, and less capable of this or any other employment.

1569. *November* —. Commencement of the insurrection of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland; they march for Tutbury to deliver the Queen of Scots, but on the first rumour of these movements she is conveyed to Coventry.

*La Mothe Fenelon to the King of France.*¹

It is true, that in the folding of the paper I had enclosed a little letter from the Queen of Scotland. I have now sent a copy, by which you may see the state of the said lady, and consult and deliberate on the means of moving the heart of the Queen of England—if it be not too hard—and setting before her eyes the great wrong done to her reputation by those who give her such violent counsel.² I had also put in my last

¹ Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. ii. The little letter is not extant.

² This was just before the arrest of the Duke of Norfolk, who had retired to Norfolk: but Pembroke, Arundel, and Lord Lumley, were confined to their houses. The implication of Pembroke in this rising is a mysterious point. The insurgents in the north involved his name and that of Arundel with their own in their proclamation, and Mary believed that both were her partizans.

The French ambassador, Fenelon, wrote to Catherine de Medicis, Oct. 13th, same year, that Mary was still at Tutbury, under the joint guard of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon.

despatch the letters the Queen of Scots had written to your majesty, to the queen [Catherine de Medicis], to monsieur, and to monsieur the duke, to her uncles the cardinals, to her other uncles, and to Madame de Guise her grandmother, all which contained but thanks or kind expressions.

Nov. 18th.

The Queen of Scots has sent me tidings that she is better treated, and already feels the benefit of the negociation your very Christian majesties made in her behalf with this queen her cousin, notwithstanding the great wrath still borne against her; she has withdrawn Huntingdon and his men, so that for the present she is in the hands of the Earl of Shrewsbury alone, and both he and his countess behave in all things truly and honourably to the said Queen of Scots.

1569. *November* —. The Privy Council proposes to put Mary Stuart to death; Elizabeth is afraid to consent, but proposes to give her up to Murray.

December 16. The Earl of Sussex, with the aid of the Earl of Warwick, disperses the insurgents, and their leaders take refuge in Scotland. The Earl of Northumberland is imprisoned at Lochleven.

1570. *January* —. Mary Stuart is brought back to Tutbury.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

From Tutbury, this — January, 1570.

Monsieur de Glasgow,—Be not surprised if I do not write to you often, either myself, or by any other hand; being obliged to leave all my letters open, and having but one secretary who, during the short time that my attendants are allowed to remain with me, is fully occupied in writing to the Bishop of Ross, who gives you, I expect, from time to time, information of the state of my affairs, which I should do had I but permission to

write everything to you or to him, or to say to Monsieur de Monloe;¹ I cannot, therefore, say more at present, than express my entire satisfaction with your pains and solicitude in my affairs, which I beg you will continue to take, assuring you that you will not find me an ungrateful mistress.

I desire you will hasten the affair of Douglas;² for I should be sorry to have it laid to my charge that so important a service as that which he has rendered me should be ill rewarded; such services are not met with every day. As you were much pleased at the result of it, prove yourself his friend in this and in other matters, and be indulgent to the few faults you may find in him. In doing this for him, you will open the door to your brother to hope for his reward also for the service rendered on the same occasion. You must consider that he has lost all his friends. Here I shall pray God to grant you, Monsieur de Glasgow, a long and happy life.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

[Before the group of letters are examined called the love-letters of Mary Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk, a few words are perhaps necessary, on the somewhat interesting question, whether Norfolk and Mary ever met. Mr. Tytler, the erudite modern historian of Scotland, is inclined to think that they were personally acquainted, though, as yet, he has met with no documentary evidence to prove it; and when it is

¹ M. de Montlovet, an envoy sent by the King of France to solicit the liberation of Mary. This envoy and the French ambassador in London obtained an audience of Queen Elizabeth, who peremptorily refused their request either to release her, or to permit them to see her, or to proceed into Scotland.

² George Douglas.

remembered that Lady Scrope, wife to Lord Scrope, at whose Castle of Bolton, Mary resided for some weeks, was *sister to the Duke of Norfolk*, and that the duke was in the north when Mary was resident at Bolton Castle, little doubt can arise that the queen and the duke were personally acquainted. However, in the absence of documentary history, biography bears some weight, and we here offer a translation regarding this point from Pierre le Pesant du Bois Guilbert, who wrote the life of Mary about the time of Louis XIII., chiefly from the important documents of M. de Mauvisière, the French ambassador, Mary's contemporary.]

*Translation from the Life of Mary, Queen of Scots, by
M. le Pesant Sieur du Bois Guilbert.*

The Duke of Norfolk was lord-lieutenant of that part of England which lies towards Scotland, and happening to be there when Queen Mary arrived in England, came to compliment her; the sight of her produced effects Elizabeth little dreamed of, for he became a passionate adorer of her charms; and when he became president of the commission for examining into her husband's death, he gave proof of his conviction of her innocence by offering to marry her. The deputies from the lords in Scotland, having cast many aspersions on their queen, concluded with mentioning her act of resignation, (her abdication at Lochleven,) the Duke of Norfolk required them to produce their papers which made good these accusations. The Earl of Murray, noticing that the Duke of Norfolk made the demand with the air and manner of one who believed in Mary's innocence, presently imagined there must exist some very extraordinary motive to make a courtier sacrifice his sovereign's favour for the safety of a stranger; for

he knew that the Duke of Norfolk was not unacquainted with the will of Queen Elizabeth, and that he was not chosen president of that commission to act in the like manner.

He considered some time, and at last remembering the duke had seen Queen Mary, was then at no loss for the motive which induced him to take her part. He refused to produce his proofs, unless Queen Elizabeth would promise to abandon Queen Mary, if found guilty. Murray soon after went to the south, obtained an interview with Elizabeth, told her of his suspicions of Norfolk, and induced her to supersede him in his commission as president for trying the proofs of Mary's guilt, appointing other commissioners. The consent of Bothwell to a divorce had been obtained before the marriage treaty between the queen and Norfolk commenced, and Lord Boyd had been sent with it to the Scottish parliament, which refused its consent. "The document signifying Bothwell's consent to the divorce remained among the family papers of Lord Boyd, to the present century."¹ Thus, Bothwell's reiterated vindications of Mary's innocence of all idea of her husband's death, when a prisoner and on his death-bed at Malmö, deserve the more credit as being perfectly disinterested, as his marriage with Mary had been deemed a nullity by his own consent.

*The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.*²

(Probably) January 15, 1570.

I thank God, my own good lord, that you are in better

¹ Chalmers, vol. i., p. 331.

² Cottonian MS., Calig., c. ii. fol. 53. Whether the word *Mendirll* means a person or place, is at present inexplicable. The sense of this letter is greatly injured by frequent hiatuses in the original, which no editor can venture to fill up from conjecture.

case nor was as the Bishop of Ross will tell you, for I took the hazard to Mendirll wh for to learn the truth, being in such pain as I could not be satisfied till I understood it. Your satisfaction of my friends glads me also. I can [not] fear all the practises of my enemies against me, so that you be still well persuaded of me, and my constancy to you. But alas! I fear of Murray, you should never believe [he] shall be too true, he will seek to hurt you all he can. But I think if Leicester and Pembroke be your friends, they will find means to countermand his draughts. But I dare not write as I would, being where you are being in all adventures. I pray you do a [ll] things for your weal; for if you do well, I trust to have my part less [or] more. I pray you let the Bishop of Ross, or any of your servants, advertise me of your health, for I will not be at ease till I hear how you be mended. Last of all, I pray you, my good lord, trust none that shall say that I ever mind to leave you, nor do anything that may displease you, for I have determined never to offend you, but to remain yours; and though I should never buy it so dear, I think all well bestowed for your friendly dealings with me, undeserved. So I remain yours till death conform according to my faith dutiful promise. I look for goodwill and constancy again; so I pray God, as I do daily, to save you from all our enemies. The 15th of this instant.

Your own D.¹

[She was probably at Tutbury.]

¹ Perhaps by this initial signature, Mary means Norfolk's duchess. These letters are only extant in the transcript of the decipherer; they appear to have been composed by Mary in English, as many sentences seem as if written by a foreigner. This series of letters was written after the first examination of the Duke of Norfolk by the privy council.

1570. *January* 28. Murray is assassinated at Linlithgow, and the Earl of Lenox succeeds him as Regent of Scotland.

*The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.*¹

Jan. 31, 1570.

Mine own lord,—I wrote to you before, to know your pleasure if I should seek to make any enterprize; if it please you, I care not for my danger; but I would wish you would seek to do the like, for if you and I could escape both, we should find friends enough, and for your lands, I hope they should not be lost, for, being free and honourably bound together, you might make such good offers for the countries, and the Queen of England, as they should not refuse. Our fault were not shameful; you have promised to be mine, and I yours; I believe the Queen of England and country should like of it. By means of friends, therefore, you have sought your liberty, and satisfaction of your conscience, meaning that you promised me you could not leave me. If you think the danger great, do as you think best, and let me know what you please that I do; for I will ever be, for your sake, perpetual prisoner, or put my life in peril for your weal and mine. As you please command me, for I will, for all the world, follow your commands, so that you be not in danger for me in so doing. I will, either if I were not by humble submission, and all my friends were against it, or by other ways, work for our liberties so long as I live. Let me know your mind, and whether you are not offended at me; for I fear you are, seeing that I do hear no news from you. I pray God preserve you, and keep us both from deceitful friends. This last of January.

Your own, faithful to death,

QUEEN OF SCOTS, my Norfolk.

[Endorsed, The Scottish Queen to the Duke.]

¹ MS. Harl., 290, fol. 88.

The Queen of Scots to the Bishop of Ross.

Reverend Father in God, and right trustie counsellor, we greet you well. We receivet of your lres be the — and — by James Burre, whom we despechit the 27th of the month toward Scotland, but be reason of our slawe convalescence furth of this sicknes and debilitie remayned in us there thoro, we could not write to youe nor . . . againe privatlie, then we have written anie lres with our own hand to the queene our good sister, albeit for the said cause of our infirmitie, it be but shorte wherof we have send youe the dawbill and principall closit. The credit referred to you there by is that seeinge this treaty has bene already so longe without the finishing of any good working, and of near two months time, for resolution taking in all our causes, which terme is also near expired; and having na worde, nor seeing na appearance of the commissioners coming to treat for our rebels parte, wherupon the haill matter we perceyve is staied, to pray most effectuously the queene our good sister in our name not to awaite one their arrivall, but in all possible dilligence to proceede and conclude with us; for if so she does not, we will to looke for na other thing but contynuall delaies to dryve over this somer season, amonges the rest, that our rebelles in the mean tyme may strengthen themselves the more for the wraicke of our good subiectes who may otherwise prepare for their own defence. Which our said good sister muste . . . if we se no furtherance to be had at her hand neither of our restitution nor for the reliefe of our said good subjects, that we solecit and ayde them to procure their support at other princes our friends and allys, and for our part, to abyden God's pleasure and hers.

In the meantyme therefore we wold that you, my Lord of Galloway, and Levingston, knawing the small

moyen we have not only for your enterteynment and theirs, but for our own, which in you may perceyve we spare expences in many wayes; should like manner for absteine from superfluous chargis specially in reteining over great treyne of servaunts and ymprofitable horses; that the number thereof exceed not over will be shewin to you at your departing here from, for in consideracon of the little conditions we have of any parte and in like manner of our good subiects extreme handling, there can be no dishonour neither to us nor them, albeit no gret brauetie be used douringe this treatie. And thus referringe the rest to your wisdom, we comit you to the protection of God Almighty.

At Sheffield the vi. of Februarie, 1570.

Your richt good and assured frind,

MARIE R.

Make my commendacons to my Lord of Leicester and Mr. Cecill, excusing us that we write not them privatlie, because of *disposition* which will not permit us. But notwithstanding we hope they will aide us to have a hastie resolution of the quene our good sister. And also commende us to my Lords of Galloway and Livingstone, havinge no other thinge to write to theme at this tyme.

Memorandum by the Queen of Scots about sending Rudolphi to Spain.¹

By dispatches I haue y^e dayes by past conteining sondry memories that for the prolixite of the same and to spare the hazard of the delay I wold

¹ This paper being intercepted caused great trouble to Mary Queen of Scots, and torture to be inflicted on many persons suspected as agents of Rudolphi.

not send you. counsell at this tyme, but I haue m^sket affections, w^h as I haue collected briefly, and therunto set myn opinion, to the effect I may understand and follow R. (Duke of Norfolk) good advyse over yours.

The appointment that is agatward between the V. (Queen of England) and me is to G. (France) by exterior demonstrations the which being wisely considered rather to be for their exempting of the support required of them, any great will they have the same should take effect, onles it be I have in this contree, for fear that my ambassador shold succede to well. The purpose of V. (Q. of Eng^d) marriage with Mons^r D'Aniou, wherunto care is given in the A. (King of F.) fr king's counsell, is nothing to my advantage, by this meanes will divert all succours and support that I may looke for of G. (France), and of that which is proposed touching the league in y^e end apointment is ye that maketh them flatter, and seke V. (Q. of E.), temporising with her of the overture of the duke's marriage albeit they looke not for it.

Lykewise G. (France) fynds good y^e D. (Q. of Scots) marriag with R. (Duke of Norfolk) to y^e w^c y^e extreme jealousy Don John de Austria brought them, being surly advertised that if he thought I were inclined to y^t side, they would embrace my rebelles playnly against me. And if they did see things in such termes were no more meane w^t y^e Duke John, they would not faile to impute that they cold D. (Q. of Scots) marriag w^t R. (D. of Norfolk) which presently they make shew to desire.

B. (D. D'Alva) hath declared openly he is of opinion that if the former appointment has effect, it shalbe to my destruction and ruin, wherupon it may be that peradventure he wold see y^e controversies of the K. of

Spaine his master reconciled w^t V. (Q. of England) before any other accord. But methinke this is y^e principall occasion that moueth him not to desire + L. apointment; y^e deliverie of my sonne his person in y^e V. (Q. of E.) handes, and exposition of my owne hazard to fawle againe under the power of my cruell rebells, and susteyned and fortified by V. (Q. of F.) in al their wickednes, taketh all esperance away from him of any establishment of y^e Catholique religion with assurance of his masters estat, specially in the Low Countrees. All the advises y^t comes from the sea parts tendes to perswade me to fynd the meane to escape furth of the contree. And as to the place of my retraite in y^t cas they fynd not good, that I enter into Ts. (Scotland) without forces, for to enclose myselfe in a fortres I shalbe in daunger to remayn there without succors. And in y^e meantyme my rebels continuing in their usurped authoritie, I may fall in such inconveniences, that before I be supported, the place must be rendered by hunger or otherwise. And to keep y^e field without the favor of my good and obedient subiects, I shall be constreyned to susteyn battell, wherof the issue may be perillous for me, for notwithstanding the + reason y^t is to be feared, my rebells may haue such and so prompt favor, that they might be made y^e strongest partie, before I gett any meane to have foren ayde. To retire myself into Fraunce, albeit I have friends, and rents there the place w^c I held, y^e stat I am reduced into, and that wherein things of Fraunce dependeth partly are sufficient consideracons to cause the desire pass from me to remayn there. And to think for to obtayne succors in those parts, to retorne and establish myself in my own realme, the affaires y^t y^e K. of Fraunce is within his own contree, and the appearance there is of new affections shall not permit him althowgh he wold to help me. And in

y^e meane while the jalousie of y^e King of Spayne wold take to see me take y^t way wold be occasion to make him retyre himself wholly from me. And so I shold remayn destitut of all sydes.

There rests furthermore Spayne where I may save myself, and have succours of the King of Spayne, a prince full of pitie, and y^t his contrees whole quiett and flourishing, out of y^e w^c meanes may be easily drawen. As to Flaunders the negotiation wold not be so comodious nor expedicious in absence, as in my presence. And therefore they are of advise y^t I should pass the highway to Spayne, where I may treat with my frend the King of Spayne myself, and obteyne promptly of him more nor I cold in a long tyme by the ambassadour or deputes, alleging, the goodnes, conscience, and uprightness of him may be pledg for the surety of my person. And whatsoeuer I accord to him I need not feare y^t he wold usurpe the same upon my states. To speke truly I have better hope to be supported by that syde nor by any other way. And in what sort that ever it be, me think it is nedeful to follow that part. And therefore wold be of advise to send som faithful man towards y^e King of Spayne, whom he might trust, to make him understand of the state of my realme and of this also; the friends y^t I have here took deliberations, and the meanes they may haue to sett themselves in the field, and raise them for me, if y^e said King of Spayne will susteyne and embrace my causes and theirs.

The last Q. of Spaine, who resteth with God, a little before her death wrote a very amiable letter to me, w^c I believe was not without the knowledg. and good pleasure of the King her husband, by the w^c she promised to me the marriag of my sonne w^t one of her daughters. And wth y^t her husband desired instantly to have my

sonne in his hands, to make him be nourished and instructed in the Catholique religion. Ther hath bene toched to me from diuers places of y^e marriag of John of Austria, to y^e w^c I esteme y^t y^e King of Spayne wold have me to consent.

As to my sonne, me think that both his suerty and myn shold be y^t in Spayne for som yeres, forth of daungers and perills that may be during his infancie in this isle. His absence wold cutt the way of the sayd trobles, my rebells fynding them selues desolat of y^e coverture and pretext of his name. And to y^e marriag of the sayd Don John of Austria, albeit that I will heare nothing therof, y^e King of Spayne may not leaue to succour and embrace my causes, so being that he may be assured that they shall not be separated from religion, and that he whome I marry hold y^e same course. And albeit y^e King of Spayne wold haue no will to, yet y^e Pope will write to him the same, and hold hand to him in that cause, and for his owne part employe of his proper goods therupon, yea, even his own cape.

I think that Rodolphi may best acquitt himselfe of this charge of any y^t I know. Under colour of his own trafique, and being knowen as he is, the King of Spaine and y^e Pope will give him and creditt y^t w^c shall be proposed by him to them. And also his intelligence of the affairs of this contree and my realme, and by the one that he shall take R. (D. of Norfolk) and of frends, he may answer to the objections y^t shall be made to him. He sent me a memorye,¹ by the w^c he describes the personages, such he thinketh are required, unnaming any man. For my part, I know not of whom to make election, less nor it be of him. The feare they haue on yonder syde that

¹ Probably *memorandum*.

R. (D. of Norf.) will remayn protestant stayer, holdeth all things in suspence, and maketh that my propre servants, and ministers, what to believe to fauour his disgres are suspect in such sort, that they wold not that they shold haue any knowledg of it, that shall be practised here among them. To take away wholly y^e sayd suspicion, and accomode y^e whole to the contentment and satisfaction of the sayd King of Spayne and Pope, I see no other meane but to assure them of R. (D. of N.) for it is the knott of the matter, and on y^e w^c resolution must be taken, otherwise not to look for any succors of them, but by the contrary, all the traverses y^t they may manage by the meanes of the Catholiques of this contree, in whome is my whole esperance, to impeech the marriag, w^c this only respect of religion makes them to feare.

The negotiation must be holden very secret, and that Rodolphi keep him selfe well, that he make no semblance therof in G. (France,) nor yet to seme to medle in any wise in my affaires, for the jalousie that is betwixt G. (France) and y^e King of Spaine wold be occasion that there shold not be a stone but it shold be removed for to break all, and occasion to cause aduance y^e marriag of V. (Q. of E.) and Mons^r d'Aniou, if it be a thing that shold be, or any effect may procede the same.

The season requires diligence and celeritie, and there where if the R. (D. of N.) thinks the voyage of the sayd Rodolphi good, I am, of advise it be rather sooner nor later, and not to tyne upon tyme. I remitt to R.'s (D. of N.) wisdome to dispatch, and make him depart when he thinketh good. At y^e viiith of Feb^r 1570.¹

¹ Endorsed, "This copie being conferred word by word with the originall copie, is agreeing in all points w^t y^e sayd originall. This xth of January, 1571. Ro. HIGFORD.

This admission was probably obtained by torture in the succeed-

*The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.*¹

Wingfield, February 24, 1570.

Sunday I received a writing by Borthwick from you, whereby I perceive the satisfaction you have of my plain dealing with you, as I must do of my duty. Considering how much I am beholden to you, many ways, I am glad the grant of my goodwill is so agreeable to you. Albeit, I know myself to be so unworthy to be so well liked of one of such wisdom and good qualities, yet do I think mayhap great in that, yea, much greater than my desert. Therefore I will be about to use myself so, that, so far as God shall give me grace, you shall never have cause to diminish your good conceit and favour of me, while I shall esteem and respect you in all my doings so long as I live, as you would wish your own to do. Now, good my lord, more words to this purpose would be unseemly to my present condition, and importunate to you, amongst so many business; but this, trust you, as written by them that means unfeignedly.

This day I received a letter from you by this bearer, whereby I perceive the thought you take of my health, which, thanks to God, is much better than it was at his departing, but not yet very strong, nor quit of the soreness of my side. It causes me to be more heavy and pensive than I would or need to be, considering the care you have of me, whereof I will not thank you, for I have remitted all my causes to you to do as for yourself. I write to the Bishop of Ross what I hear from the Duke D'Alva, governor of the Netherlands. Let me know your pleasure at length in writing, what I shall answer. Now, my Norfolk, you bid me command you; *that* would be besides my duty many ways. But

ing year. Higford was the Duke of Norfolk's secretary. He was mercilessly tortured in the Tower by the express orders of Elizabeth.

¹ Harl. 290, fol. 91.

to pray you I will, that you counsel me not to take patiently my great griefs, except you promise me to trouble you no more for the death of your ward. I wish you had another in his room to make you merry, or else I would he were out both of England and Scotland. You forbid me to write; be sure I will think it no pains, whenever my health will permit it, but pleasure, as also to receive your letters, which I pray you to spare not, when you have leisure without troubling you; for they shall fall in no hands where they will be better received.

The physicians write at length; they seem to love you marvellously, and not mislike of me. We had but general talk, and some of your matters; but not in anybody's name; therefore I answered nothing, but giving ear soberly. When Borthwick goeth up, you shall understand all; in this it is unintelligible; meantime I must warn you, when I hear anything touching you. Argyle sends me word expressly, that, when he met at Stirling with Murray [the regent of Scotland,] he assured him "I should never come home, and that he had intelligence for to be quit of me," he [Argyle] remembered him [Murray] of his promises. Borthwick will write it to the Bishop of Ross and my Lord Fleming. Argyle prayed me, "if you were my friend, to advertise you hastily." Take of this what pleases you; but I am sure they will be traitors to you and me; and if they were in Turkey, you and I were never the worse; albeit I will not be importune. But, an' this summer past, I hope by [for] good all the year. God preserve you from all traitors, and make your friends as true and constant. From Wingfield, late at night, this 24th.

Your assured

MARY.

*The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.*¹

(Supposed from) Tutbury, March 19th, 1570.

My own good lord, I have forborne this long time to write to you, in respect of the dangers of writing, which you seemed to fear ; but I must remember you of your own at times, as occasion serveth, and let you know the continuance of my truth to you, which I see by this last looks much suspected. But, if you mind not to shrink at the matter, I will die and live with you. Your fortune shall be mine ; therefore, let me know, in all things, your mind. The Bishop of Ross writes to me, that I should make the offers to the Queen of England now in my letter, which I write generally ; because I would enter into nothing till I know your pleasure, which I shall now follow. I have heard that God hath taken your dear friend Pembroke,² whereof I am heartily sorry ; albeit that, nor other matter, trouble you to your heart ; for else you leave all your friends and me, for whose cause you have done so much already, that I trust you will preserve you a happier meeting in despite of all such railers ; wherein I suspect Huntingdon, for such like talk. But, for all their sayings, I trust in God you shall be satisfied with my conditions and behaviour, and faithful duty to you, whenever it shall please God I be with you, as I hope for my part the maker shall never have the pleasure to see or hear my repentance or discontentment therein. I have prayed God to preserve you, and grant us both His grace ; and this let them, like blasphemers, feel. So I end, with the humble and heartiest recommendations

¹ MS. Harl. 290, fol. 90.

² The Earl of Pembroke died at Hampton Court, March 16, 1570. Queen Elizabeth had, in the preceding December, reinstated him in his offices at court.

to you of your own faithful to death. This 19th of March.

*Mary Queen of Scots to some person unknown.*¹

I have sent you that which ye desired, and is but sor . . . is no better. I pray you solicit the ambassador to send support into Scotland, for now is the time, otherwise I will be forced to consent to dissemble soon to get my liberty, and embrace their reli[gion.]² Therefore, now is the time to restore me in Sco[tland] and help them or never. 18th April, 1570.

*The Queen of Scots to Catherine de Medicis.*³

Tutbury, April 30, 1570.

Madame,—The honour that I have had in being nurtured in your family, as your very obedient daughter, and having always wished, all my life, to do you very humble service, makes me confident that in my great need my humble requests will be granted, with every indulgence that it may please you to make, and that you will assure to me the support of the king your son, and take the same care for me that every good mother ought to do for one of her destitute children, for such I have the boldness to consider myself; and for the love of the late king your son, and the natural affection I have borne to you, which I call on yourself to witness. I shall neither speak of what I desire, nor what I fear; I leave these particulars to Monsieur de la Mothe, not having convenience at present to write, only to tell you that they are sending an army on the way towards the

¹ MS. Cotton, Calig., c. ii., fol. 53.

² This letter is evidently addressed to a Catholic, whom she endeavours to stimulate by the dread of her change of faith.

³ From the Autograph Collection in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburg, No. 34.

borders, to enter Scotland, if they are not already there, with a proclamation to strengthen my rebels and intimidate my faithful subjects. I have no means, save by you, to maintain the ancient alliance of these two realms, which by my ruin will be lost to the king your son, if prompt succour be not given to those for whom I supplicate, together with the assurance that my servants may rely on being supported by you ; nor will this be in vain, for they and I may then be the means of rendering you as good service as my predecessors have formerly done.

I am much grieved that this queen, to whom I am so nearly related, and whom I have never offended, should have so little regard to your prayers ; and that, through her, I am compelled to be a trouble to you in the midst of so many important matters, in respect to which, if you are prevented from aiding me as much as you could wish, I entreat you to implore the other allied princes to join with you, for the support and re-establishment of a queen, your daughter and ally. To the king and you, after God, I shall owe the obligation, which I shall endeavour to requite by every means in my power ; and in the mean time, I present my very humble recommendations to your good grace, praying God, madam, that he will give you, in health and every happiness, long life.

From Tutbury, this last of April.

I beseech the king your son to be a good and favourable master to his servant and mine, George Douglas, for the services that he has done for me ; and also for my ambassador the Bishop of Glasgow, to give him the means to remain near you for my service. The third is for the Bishop of Ross, for he will receive nothing from the Scotch, and is only waiting here for my service, which I

cannot omit to notice; and not having the means of giving him any recompense, I entreat you to provide for him some little benefice for his maintenance during his exile and my imprisonment. I pray you to take this, my private request, in good part, for the necessity I am in.

Your very humble and very obedient daughter,

MARY.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

Tutbury, 30th April, (1570.)

Monsieur de Glascow,—I would not for the world neglect things of importance to me, or which concern my duty to God and my honour; and hence it is that, seeing an army in my country, and a most injurious proclamation issued against me, I have risked this despatch to the King, monsieur my good brother, and to the Queen, and to all my relatives, wherein I have recommended you to them, and begged them to afford you the best means for applying yourself to my affairs. I therefore inform you of this, that you may act accordingly; and, whatever may come of it, I beg you on no account to be absent from court at a time so important as this, but to urge warmly the promised support.

The rest I write to you in cipher, but this I wished to signify with my own hand, to inform you of the need that I and mine have of prompt assistance. In short, make one last effort for your Queen and good mistress, your country and kindred, and, after me, for your future prince. The Bishop of Ross has informed me of a deanery which I have given him to keep him in my service, for he has nothing whatever in Scotland. I beg him to get this matter settled forthwith, and desire that George¹ be despatched from London without difficulty,

¹ George Douglas.

for his services merit it, and the good example he has set is important at this moment. James and Baron are in my employ, and are not gone to him but with a promise to be alway faithful to me. It is, therefore, my intention that their wages be paid them, about which you will give directions to my treasurer; and the same in regard to Henri Kir in quality of secretary; and I shall be very glad when Roulet returns, and send me, if you can obtain it, a passport for Thomas Levingston to come to serve me; for should Craford go abroad, and I think he will, I shall not have any gentleman-attendants left, and they will not permit any to come to me from Scotland. So, referring to my cipher, and what you will hear from the bearer of this, I will conclude, praying God to have you in his holy keeping.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

*The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.*¹

May 11, 1570.

I would have been gladder nor I am, if the assurance of my carefulness in anything touching you might have prevailed against my suspicion, on the contrary, always I am glad that ere now ye may know, that o'er great haste to answer to your satisfaction might cause a fault to be done without danger, for the letters remained, but my keys² are not in that peril you took them in. I pray you be sure I have none I trust in shall oversee them, nor I trust in none more than in that I am not able to do; and if you will appoint one you trust to have to do, that I may not do, I am contented; for I assure you I write as much as I may do, and

¹ M.S. Harl. 290, fol. 92. The broken English in the Norfolk series will strike every reader.

² Probably the keys of the cipher.

spare not my travail, for I have none other matters in head, than them that you have in hand to be occupied with, and I fear that it is too busy upon me presently, that I have not taken very much ease this last night, so that I am not able to write further, and this in pain, being in fever. I pray you, take it not in evil part, for I mind it not, for I thought yesternight to have sent you the token you sent, to pray you not to leave your care of me for any extremity. I send the Bishop of Ross letters from Scotland; do you in them as you think best; I may write no more. As soon as I be anything amended, I shall write more plainly. I pray God preserve you; and if you send me any news, I pray God they be more comfortable. From my bed the 11th of May. I shall do what I may to be soon up, and so your answer to my last letters shall fully resolve you daily with letters. My trembling hand here will write no more.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

From Sheffield Castle, May 13th [1570.]

Monsieur de Glascow,—George Douglas having obtained permission to visit me, and make his apologies, and to beg that I would arrange his affairs in such manner as I may judge proper, provided that what I have given be secured to him, should I think he merits it, or at least, that he may be put to the proof if he has ever offended me, explaining that what he wrote to me had no other object than to let me know that, rather than I should doubt his fidelity, or before he would seek an appointment without my leave, he would relinquish all I had given or might give him. I have been very glad to afford him an opportunity to state his reasons, from the desire I have that he should give me as much occasion to be a good mistress to him in

future, and from the pleasure I shall feel in recompensing the great and signal service which he has done me, and which, he says, he wishes to continue to do me as long as he lives, of which I have no doubt: and in consequence of this, I have not only favourably received his excuses and justifications, but relieved him from all fear that I shall ever listen to any report to his disadvantage, without first hearing him. I inform you of this, purposely that you may cause him to be paid quarterly, as usual, wherever he may be, according to the capacity under which he is entered, notwithstanding the commands I formerly gave you and others to the contrary.

I have likewise written to Kir¹ to come her and excuse himself for the fault I have found with him. Let me hear from you by him, and give me an explanation on the following point:—George tells me that he cannot conclude the marriage he has as long contemplated with La Verrière, without being assured of having the gift I made him; and as I heard that there are difficulties in this affair, and M. the Cardinal, my uncle, was of opinion I ought to give him twenty-five thousand francs down, and pay him the remainder by yearly instalments, he returning me the deed of gift, I asked his opinion of this, and he is perfectly satisfied with this arrangement, or any other that you may recommend, as he has found you his good friend in time of need; and he prides himself on this and on your good advice, which I am very glad of, and I beg you to continue to befriend him in his affairs, which he places entirely in your hands; and he has requested me to recommend him to you, which I do most willingly.

You must take this trouble for him. In the first

¹ The Scottish name Kerr or Carr is thus spelled by Mary.

place, he begs you will endeavour to arrange with the mother and daughter, and ascertain their decision, and if, on the aforesaid conditions they are satisfied with the match, you must prevail upon them to receive the twenty-five thousand francs, though, to obtain this sum, you are even obliged to settle the lawsuit, for which I was formerly offered, at the first word, forty thousand francs. Although I must make a sacrifice to settle it, yet I must give him what I have promised; endeavour, therefore, to get me out of this—a debt which the service he rendered imposes upon me. Receive the money for him, and place it in the *maison de la ville*, or where you may agree with the parents of the girl. I have written on the subject to my uncle the cardinal, and beg you to solicit him to send the deed, or the money. For my own part, I had rather that it should be placed in George's name, than have any more trouble respecting it; in short, my wish is, either that the twenty thousand francs be immediately assigned to him upon the *maison de la ville*, or that he should make what profit he can by the lawsuit, if the relatives of the girl be agreeable. Inform me, by Henry Kir, what are the difficulties in this affair, so that I may take steps for its final settlement. Meanwhile, he will wait in London for your reply, as also that about his affairs in Scotland, respecting which I have written, and whither he is desirous to make a journey, which I shall advise or prevent, according to the answer which I shall have from you. If you can find yourself any one willing to treat about this lawsuit, send him to me. I recommend to you the management of his matrimonial and other affairs; if you cannot bring the former to a favourable conclusion, let me know the long and the short of it as soon as you possibly can, for I shall wait till I hear from you before I send him back.

As respects myself, my health is but very indifferent, I am strictly guarded, and without any means of arranging my affairs, either here, or in Scotland, or abroad, unless M. de la Mothe, by command of the king, takes pity upon me. I have but just thirty persons—men, women, servants, and officers—as you will perceive by the list and the new orders, which will show whether I am a prisoner or not.

Roulet has a continual fever, which is the reason why I cannot write to you more at length, which would be troublesome to me just now. Several of my people are ill; so is also M. de Ross, and so he hears nothing about my affairs, and my people are badly treated, as M. de Ross will inform you. I beg you will represent all this to the king, the queen his mother, and messieurs his brothers, requesting they will send some one to speak in my behalf.

Awaiting your reply to this by Kir, I will conclude by recommending myself to your favour, and praying God to grant you a long and happy life.

Send me a physician, consulting Lusgerie, to whom I beg you to remember me; and as regards your own affairs, tell me what you think would suit you, and I will write immediately to support you, for I am aware of your necessities.

I had forgotten to tell you that, as to the order for a thousand francs, which is in your hands, you must retain eight hundred, and give the remainder to Kir, for the purpose of paying his debts. I have also granted him another thousand, by virtue of a letter I have written to my treasurer, and which will serve as an order until such time as you send one for my signature, also for the purpose of paying his debts there; these two thousand francs must be deducted from the gift which I made him. I beg you will not fail doing

this ; and for your security, this present, signed by my hand, must suffice until you send me an order, as I fear my treasurer will not honour any but written orders.

Your very good mistress and friend,
MARY R.

If M. the cardinal is at too great a distance, send him my letters by some one, and forward to me his answer, and meanwhile, let me know by Kir, what is your opinion, and what will be the best and safest means of securing his money, and the most convenient manner for me to pay it.

1570. *May* —. Mary Stuart arrives at Chatsworth, a seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury's, in Derbyshire.

*The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.*¹

I have received, my own good constant lord, your comfortable writings, which are to me as welcome as ever thing was, for the hope I see you are in to have some better fortune nor you had yet, through all your friends' favour ; and albeit my friends' case in Scotland be of heavy displeasure unto me, yet nothing to the fear I had of my son's delivery,² and those that I thought might be cause of longer delaying your affairs. And therefore I took greater displeasure nor I have done since, and that diminisheth my health a little ; for the Earl of Shrewsbury came one night so merry to

¹ MS. Harl., 290, fol. 87. This letter was written in cipher to the Duke of Norfolk by his betrothed queen ; it was intercepted and deciphered by Elizabeth's secretary. The orthography is here modernized from the deciphered manuscript.

² Elizabeth was treating for the young prince to be delivered up to her.

me, shewing that the Earl of Northumberland was [sur] rendered to the Earl of Sussex, which since I have found false; but at the sudden, I took such fear for friends' cumbering me, that I wept so till I was all swollen three days after; but since I have heard from you, I have gone abroad, and sought all means to avoid displeasure for fear of yours: but I have need to care for my health, since the Earl of Shrewsbury takes me to *Chastwyth* [Chatsworth]; and the pestilence was in Rotherham, and in other places not farther nor Fulgeam's next land.

The Earl of Shrewsbury looks for Bateman to be instructed how to deal with me, because he is ablest, and clean turned from the Earl of Leicester: this I assure you, and pray you keep it quiet. I have no long leisure, for I trust to write by one of my gentlemen shortly more surely, for I think to have more matter after Bateman's coming. But I fear at *Chastwyth* I will get little means to hear from you, or to write; but I shall do diligence, and in this mean time I write to the Bishop of Ross to hear your opinion in the usage of the ambassadors, to have their master's help, and to follow it: for come what so will, I shall never change from you, but during life be true and obedient, as I have professed; and so I pray you think, and hold me in your grace as your own, who daily shall pray to God to send you happy and hasty deliverance of all troubles; not doubting but you would not then enjoy alone all your felicities, not remembering *your own* faithful to death, who shall not have any advancement or rest without you; and so I leave to trouble you, but commend you to God. At M., this 17th day of May. Your own D.

The Queen of Scots to the Duc de Nemours.

Chatsworth, (supposed date,) May 31, 1570.

To my cousin Monsieur le Duc de Nemours,

My cousin, if I had the means of writing to you as often as I desire, I should not have been so long without soliciting my relatives and good friends, like yourself, by letter, not to forget me and my affairs, and to commend myself to your kind remembrance. But since this is not the case, I do not wish to importune you with long letters, for about my affairs, up to this time, I know so little, all intelligence being withheld from me, that I can say I live in the faith of my relations, as the bearer of this will be able to testify to you. Referring you to him, after kissing your hands, I will pray God to grant you, my cousin, health and a long and happy life.

From Chateisworth, this last day of May,

Your very affectionate and good cousin,

MARY.

*The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.*¹

Chatsworth, June 14, 1570.

My good Lord,—It has not been small comfort to me to have the means to discover at length, with our trusty servant the bishop of Ross, that I might more plainly discover in all matters nor betray it, both for the better intelligence of the state there to me, and of my heart to him; but especially for the better intelligence betwixt us two; being means whom I have declared my opinion, in all things to use them by your advice, either to cover, as you please, and shall best serve your turn, for that will I have respect unto above all other things, or to accept or refuse whatsoever conditions you think for both our weal; for without yours, I will not have

¹ MS. Harl., 290, fol. 90.

any. And therefore command him as for yourself, and as your trusty servant; and believe him of all that he will assure you in my name; that is, in effect, that I will be true and obedient to you, as I have promised, as long as I live; praying you, if you be not, as you hoped you should be, delivered, think no displeasure, but seek the best remedy; and having amply communed with him, I will not trouble you with long discourse, but remitting all to him, I will, after my hearty commendations to you, my good lord, pray God to send you your hearty desire. From Chattlesworth, the 14th of June.

Your own, faithful to death.

Instructions of Charles IX. to M. de Poigny.

The king, wishing to make known to his good sister, the Queen of England, the particular desire he has of continuing by every means in his power, the good and perfect friendship which has always subsisted between their majesties, their kingdoms, countries, and subjects, and by the same means to maintain and confirm his ancient alliance, friendship, and confederation with the kingdom of Scotland, and the sincere affection which he entertains for the Queen his sister-in-law, has been pleased, by these presents, to despatch the Sieur de Poigny, gentleman in ordinary of his bedchamber, to the Queen of England, to communicate to her verbally his warm approbation of everything which his ambassador, M. de la Mothe-Fenelon, has done and treated of with her, and of all the negotiations they have had together regarding the pacification of the kingdom of Scotland, the withdrawing her forces which she had sent thither, and the release of the said Queen of Scotland, his sister-in-law, that she may command and be obeyed in her said kingdom, as by right and equity belongs to her.

The king, in consideration of the ancient alliance and friendship which have so long subsisted between the kings, his predecessors, and those of Scotland and their kingdoms, believing, moreover, that he cannot do anything more worthy of his authority, greatness, and reputation, feels bound to support, as he has done, what so nearly touches and belongs to the queen his sister-in-law, and to prevent any such of her subjects as refuse to render her the allegiance and fidelity which they owe her from undertaking anything contrary to her authority, and to the peace and tranquillity of her kingdom.

As soon as his majesty learned the agreement made between his ambassador and the said Queen of England respecting the recall of her forces from the said kingdom of Scotland, and the restoration of the queen of the said country to liberty, after having, in like manner, recalled his, has thought fit to make an open demonstration of the pleasure and satisfaction which it gave him to see the good understanding which subsists between him and the said Queen of England still further confirmed, and to do the same in regard to the said Queen of Scotland and her kingdom in order to cherish a true, sincere, and inviolable friendship between himself and the two queens, their kingdoms, countries and subjects, as the said *Sieur de Poigny* can testify, on the part of his majesty, to the said Queen of England; not forgetting to represent to her the ardent desire his said majesty has of seeing this negotiation, which has been commenced so favourably, concluded to the content and satisfaction of the said kings and queens, wishing that the said *Sieur de Poigny* should attend and be present, if the said *Sieur de la Mothe* considers his presence to be necessary.

In the like manner, he will go and visit, on the part

of his majesty, the said Queen of Scotland, and inform her of the motive of his journey.

This done, he is to proceed to Scotland, where he will wait, in the name of his majesty, not only on the prince, but on the dukes, earls, lords, gentlemen, and others, having authority in the said country; but particularly on those who have been well-affected to the cause of the said Queen of Scotland, representing to them all that his majesty has done for them, and for the maintenance of that good and ancient friendship and alliance which the kings, his predecessors, and himself, have had with the kingdom of Scotland, and for preserving its peace and tranquillity, exhorting each and all of them to live and keep in perfect unity with each other, and to render to the queen, his sister-in-law, their natural princess and sovereign, the obedience and fidelity they owe to her.

His majesty orders the said *Sieur de Poigny* to say more or less than what is herein contained to the Queen of England, according as the said *Sieur de la Mothe* may deem good, useful, and necessary for the service of his majesty.

Done at Argentan, the nineteenth of June, 1570.

CHARLES.

RUSE.

*The Queen of Scots to the Countess of Lenox.*¹

Madam,—If the wrong and false reports of rebels, enemies well known for traitors to you, and, alas! too much trusted of me by your advice, had not so far stirred you against mine innocency (and, I must say, against all kindness, that you have not only, as it were,

¹ Cottonian MS. In the original orthography this letter is nearly illegible to the general reader.

condemned me wrongfully, but so hated me, as some words and open deeds have testified to all the world, a manifest misliking in you against your own blood), I would not thus long have omitted my duty in writing to you, excusing me of those untrue reports made of me. But hoping, with God's grace and time, to have my innocency known to you, as I trust it is already to the most part of all *indifferent* [impartial] persons, I thought it not best to trouble you for a time, [un]til that such a matter is moved that touches us both, which is the transporting your little [grand]son, and my only child, into this country. To the which, albeit I be never so willing, I would be glad to have your advice therein, as in all other matters touching him. I have borne him (and God knows with what danger to him and me both), and of you he is descended. So I mean not to forget my duty to you in showing herein unkindness to you, how unkindly soever ye have dealt by me, but will love you as my aunt, and respect you as my mother-in-law. And if ye please to know further of my mind in that and all other things betwixt us, my ambassador, the Bishop of Ross, shall be ready to confer with you. And so, after my hearty commendations, remitting to my said ambassador and your better consideration, I commit you to the protection of Almighty God, whom I pray to preserve you and my brother Charles,¹ and cause ye to know my part better *nor* ye do. From Chatsworth, this 10th of July, 1570.

Your natural good niece and loving daughter,

M. R.

To my Lady Lenox, my mother-in-law.²

¹ Lord Charles Stuart, younger brother of Lord Darnley.

² The Countess of Lenox sent this letter to her husband, Matthew, Earl of Lenox, then at Glasgow, who returned the following answer: "Seeing you have remitted to me, to answer the queen,

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

Sheffield, Sept. 10th, 1570.

Monsieur de Glascow,—I have not had the means of letting you know the extremity to which I am reduced ;

the king's mother's letter sent to you, what can I say, but that I do not marvel to see her write the best she can for herself, to seem to clear herself of that, whereof many beside me are certainly persuaded to the contrary, and I not only assured of my own knowledge, but by her *hand writ*, the confessions of men gone to the death, and other infallible experience ? It will be long time that is able to put a matter so notorious in oblivion, to make black white, or innocency to appear where the contrary is so well known. The maist *indifferent* [impartial], I trust, doubts not of the equity of your and my cause, and of the just occasion of our misliking. Her [Queen Mary's] right duty to you and me, being the party's interest, were her true confession and unfeigned repentance of that lamentable fact, odious for her to be reported, and sorrowful to us to think of. God is just, and will not in the end be abused : but as he has manifested the truth, so will he punish the iniquity."—Appendix of Robertson's History of Scotland.

This letter has been considered of great weight against Mary by Robertson. It is not an opinion, but the peculiar character and bias of the person who holds it, which is the matter of consequence. Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, was a man of limited capacity, of great valour, but of ambition so insane, that he began life by endeavouring, with the aid of Henry VIII., to wrest Scotland from the lineal sovereigns, who were his near relatives. As a means of effecting this purpose, he put himself at the head of the Calvinists in Scotland, from the first germ of their political existence ; and, in consequence, was a mortal enemy to Mary's cause even before she saw the light. Earl Matthew, being beaten, and exiled from Scotland, was consoled by Henry VIII. with the hand of his niece, Margaret Douglas, who was likewise an exile from Scotland. This lady was a violent Catholic ; she was, withal, the cousin-german, and bosom friend of Queen Mary I. ; she brought up her son Darnley in the same faith. How Earl Matthew, the Puritan, and Countess Margaret, the Catholic, settled their domestic religion is not known : perhaps their differences were only of outward semblance to the political world, for they were a most attached and loving couple. The domestic affections of Earl Matthew were

but the bearers of this, with others banished by force, will tell you. Bastien had like to have been turned out too, but he has been left me as a matter of favour, being a servant essentially necessary to me, who, in this dreary time, cheers me by the works which he invents—after my books, the only exercise that is left me. He has lived with me in Scotland and here at my request, where he and his wife serve me well and faithfully;¹ but he is burdened with children, and has no support, though his friends have promised him advancement, if he will go to France, wherefore I beg you will look out for some office, or some governorship, where, by his appointing a deputy, some benefit may arise to him, in order that he may not very strong, and scarcely exceeded by the strength of his absurd ambition.

From the year 1564 he chiefly resided in Scotland with Darnley, his son, whom he encouraged in his illegal attempts to seize the crown after his marriage with Mary, Queen of Scots; he was, at the same time, a great enemy to that queen. Of course his grief was frantic at the death of his son, and he was better satisfied to believe Mary guilty, to whom he had been an enemy from her infancy, than his old party, by whom he was still flattered and beguiled. That he was a man of furious prejudices his conduct to the Archbishop of St. Andrews will show, whom he caused to be dragged to the gibbet without trial; in reprisal, he was assassinated a little while after he had attained the height of his ambition, having been proclaimed regent of Scotland in 1572, for his grandson James VI. His death-bed was heroic, and he died with the tenderest remembrances to his Catholic “wife Meg” on his lips. The Countess of Lenox, as queen Mary anticipated in this letter, lived to acknowledge her entire innocence of the murder of Darnley. For five or six years before her death, she was in kindly intercourse with the queen her daughter-in-law. These facts are made entirely evident, by the letters and will of the Countess of Lenox.

¹ It was to this faithful servant’s marriage feast that Mary went, on the memorable evening when the confederate lords blew up the Kirk-at-Field, and destroyed Darnley. The after fate of Bastien and Margery is marked here: they seem both respectable characters.

be left destitute in the event of my dying in this prison, and that, during my life, he may have the more courage to share my misfortunes with me. As to the value, I leave it to your own judgment; if you meet with any thing that does not require hard cash, inform me of it; as far as two thousand francs, which can be secured to him, and which I shall consider as well laid out. Not daring to write more, I beg you to give me your opinion, for there is no haste for ready money; but still arrangements must be made for sending this year his wages, as also those of the others who stay with me. Recommending myself to you, I pray God to give you good health and long life.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

1570. *October 1.* Cecil and Mildmay arrive at Chatsworth to negotiate the conditions of Mary's liberation.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her Ambassador in France.

Chatsworth, the — of October, 1570.

Monsieur de Glascow,—Instead of relieving you, as I hoped, by these letters from all anxiety, and assuring you by this despatch of the entire confidence which I place in you, and the satisfaction which it gave me to receive so high a testimony of the sincerity of your conduct, as that given me by the cardinal, my uncle, in his letters, I am obliged, to my extreme regret, to communicate a mournful circumstance, which has caused me the deepest sorrow, as Rouillet and others of your good friends can testify. In short, God has at one stroke afflicted you and me, by taking from us your brother, the only minister whom I selected to comfort and counsel me, in this my long affliction and banishment from

among my good servants and friends. We are bound to praise God for all things, a point on which you can better admonish me than I you, but more especially ought we to praise him, because he died a good christian, a good man, beloved by every one, regretted both by friends and enemies ; but, above all, by me, who, having performed the duty of a kind mistress and friend, in seeing him properly treated and attended to, served as a witness of his good end, solemnizing with my tears the close of his life, and accompanying his soul with my prayers. Now he is happy, and there, whither we must all hope to go, while I am deprived, amidst all my afflictions, of a faithful and tried servant. The sorrow and grief which I know you will feel for his death would make me apprehensive of losing you likewise, so incessant are become the attacks of misfortune, were I not aware of the good sense you possess, and that your fear of God, and your great zeal for my interest, will cause you to submit to His will, and to take care of yourself, in order to serve me.

I have made up my mind to have your other brother about me, and in the same capacity as the deceased, thereby confirming the gift made to the latter, agreeably to his last wish, which he called me to witness. I, therefore, beg you to send him to me, fully instructed as to what you may desire I should do for you and yours, relying upon it that I shall exert myself as zealously as for any servant I have, and more so. He had two of his relatives and servants here ; the one named Arelin Bethem,¹ who was formerly with me, and whom, for his sake, I shall be most willing to serve whenever occasion may offer ; the other, Thomas Archibald, whom I have taken into my household, and am equally disposed to serve. If I could do more to show how much I loved

¹ Probably Bethune, which is the manner in which the French or Flemings spell the name Beaton.

and esteemed your late brother, most gladly would I do it.

As to yourself, Rouillet can bear witness how little heed I gave to those who wished to lessen you in my good opinion : to prove this to you, I will either make Quantly, on whom all the blame is thrown, confess his fault, for which he shall be rewarded according to his deserts, or give the name of his author, which I shall transmit to M. the cardinal and you, so that you can consult together, and for your satisfaction take such steps as you may consider necessary for your honour, and for making public the high opinion and confidence I have in you, of which I beg you to be assured ; and, as a proof that you may not doubt the assurance which I give you of my favour, take all the care you can of yourself, that you may serve me whenever it may please God that I shall return to my country, where I hope to have you near me, as one of the pillars on which I shall found my government.

If this treaty be not soon concluded, I shall be very glad to see you here. In the mean time, I shall write you a full account of my affairs by the bearer of this, whom I beg you will send back as soon as possible with your answer, as there are certain points concerning which it is necessary that I should have a reply in a month. I have signed an acknowledgment for something that I owe him ; I beg you will get his business despatched, and send him back to me forthwith.

Make my apologies to all those to whom I have not written with my own hand ; for, since the death of Beton, I have had a complaint in one eye, which is much inflamed, and I think that the pleasure I take in writing to you will not amend it, as you will perceive from the first page.

Now, to conclude, I pray God to comfort you, and to be assured of my good-will and gratitude for your good

services: and send your brother to me, for I have no one here to attend upon me, and to give orders to my household, and, besides, he belongs to you; though I am sure you have a good friend in Roulet, and a friend in Seyton, who will be as ready in your absence to render you the services of a good friend, as a relation, or any other person that you might have about me, both for the affection which she bears towards all those whom she knows to have been faithful servants to me, and on account of the kindness she feels for her good friends, among whom she reckoned your deceased brother, whose soul may God take into his keeping, and grant consolation to you and to me, an end to my afflictions, or patience to bear them according to His good pleasure, to whom be praise, in good or in evil!

Your very kind mistress and friend,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to the Duc de Nemours.

Chatsworth, October 31, 1570.

My cousin, Monsieur le Duc de Nemours.

My cousin, I had written some letters, which it was my intention to send by Monsieur de Pougny; but they are now old, and still remain by me, not having had an opportunity of forwarding them to him as I meant to do, during his stay in London. I beg you to excuse this, which I have not been able to write to you with my own hand, on account of a cold which has settled in one of my eyes. My ambassador will inform you of the state of my affairs, and I beg you to believe him as you would myself, and to act for me as you may consider that necessity requires. I pray God to give you, cousin, all that you most fondly and fervently desire.

Written at Chatsworth, the last day of October, 1570.

Your very affectionate and loving cousin,

MARY.

The Queen of Scots to the Bishop of Ross.

Chatsworth, November 21, 1570.

Reuerend father and richt traist counsalor. Wee greet you well. After that our lres [letters] was closed . . . arrived here from Scotland and brought us others, which for the wrongs and extortions we see thereby has been used to our faithful subjects during this treaty, notwithstanding the promises made on all sides of the contrary, we would not stay for sending the . . . to send you the same with diligence, to the effect that, we understanding every thing particularly and at length, he may complayne thereupon to the Queen my sister and desyre restitution and recompence of the evil and spoil y^t. has been made, seeing the King my good brother makes suit at her hands in our fauor. That he shall . . . his ambassador here is not meant bona fide as was promised, desiring him to make instance for recompence as it is said, otherwise to tell you how displeased his master will be in such dealing with us. And send us the sundry letters and other papers again after he has collected the principal points out of the same. We are advertised by the Lord of Lochonwar that he has seen sundry letters of the Earl of Morton written to divers of the rebels in which he encourages them with the following: that they take na thought of any thing the Queen of England promises that they think may be to their disadvantage, for he is assured by her in all he does, and supposes, though she seems to wish us restored, she is not minded to do so, but . . . intends to do nothing for our profit; which you may shaw, to our good sister, praying her that we may see and trust the French on the contrary, which we have looked and looking for without longer delay. And that she give no credit to the abbot of Endfor evil reports, who was in haste only to make . . . inven-

tions whereby she may her favour from us. But that she consider equally the sore complaynts of the noblemen our faithful subjects, and make them be recompensed for the wrongs they have sustained with greater security in times ending. And thus referring the rest to your wisdom we commit you to God. At Chatsworth the xxi day of November 1570.

Your right good friend and mistress,

MARIE R.

The Queen of Scots to the Bishop of Ross.

Chatsworth, November 24, 1570.

Reverend Father in God and right traist counsellor. —We greet thee well. We have understood that the Earl of Lenox pursues not only our subiects both in body and in goods by any hostility guised under colour of law, but also presumes to spoilye us of certain icwels, yea, of the best we have in sum particular hands in keeping whom he tormented therefore by imprisonment, boasting and other unlawful He has imprisoned Iohn Sempill because he refused to delyver to him those that he kept, and we know not by what tytill or raison he has to crave the same. He shall make the Queene our good sister understand thereby, the extortions conforme to the particular advices he hath receavit, praying her that they be not used under her shaddow and favor, as our subiects that are wronged (knowing that the said Erle of Lenox and assured that he dare not for his life take sic things in hand aganis our said gud sesters pleasare) interpretes and spoiles it openly, not only among them selfis; but ar deliberat to publishe the same through all Christendome, and cheifly to those princes unto whom they se thameselves constreayned to shaw their doloures and implore their ayde and secouresse. As to our own

part, we cannot be perswadit but these thinges are wrought against our owne good sisters intention who (we will never believe) would consent to sic mischievous and so manifest fraude, as may be sene in that which the said Erle of Lenox promesit, during the space accordit for the abstinence which of he has observit nathing in effect. But be the contrare, he executéd more evil will than he wald do be open hostilitie, when men might hold themselves on their gardes. This is not sufficient, for the Queene our good sister must needis make demonstration (if it please her) to our faithful subjectes myndes of the opinion they have. And if the said Erle of Lenox will not hastely redress sic attestates for her lawes nor command, he shall make instance and acquiesce to our said good sister that by justice it proseid in seasing of his gudis be he in this contrey. Wherein there can na excuse be made that we be not recompensit (if we may not of all) at the least the anie part of that he receaved and spoilyeis violently. We hope that the Queene our good sister will not refuse us of it that she wald not deny to any other, which is the justice of her realmes, whereuntill we come with esperance of her favour and good support. We are assured she wald not, it wer spoken that she holdesoure handes in the meantyme that anie other (on whom she has power) reifis us of all that we have. It touches as much her reputation as it does the damage we receive. Which we remit to your wisdome and as the occasion shall serve to shew to our own good sister in sic fassoun as she may knaw that we be willing to travell sincearely with her in all her actions, advertisis her howerly of it that we knaw (by the tongues of so many of our faythfull subjects afflicted with us) shall be to our sure regrait manifested thoro the whole world.

And finally he shall declare to the Queen our good sister we are advertised that sen the saide Erle of Lenox has usurped the name of Regent of our realme, he has so prevayled above sum personnes that ar about the prince our sonne, who (wavering from the limites of all modesty and honest maners,) forces themeselves to cause speak filthie and most dishonest wordes of us, to our onne saide sonne,¹ which is so great a mischantues that it should be horrible, not only to our own said good sister, but to all other personnes whatsoever. They would nourrishe him to impietie, which proceades of theire wicked hartes declaring themselves such as they ar. This is one act wherof we are deliberat to complayne to all Christian princes, as of a thing that towches us nerrer nor our propre liffe, and begins at the Queene our good sister, whom we besech to make sic demonstration thereanent that we have no need to go any further, and as she wald we looked for her friendship. Which if it might be proven in any thing, it may be in this. For she has puissance over the said Erle of Lenox and all those of his faction, who (as it is notorious) dare not disobey her, having na *moyen* [means] nor forces but hers. Excuse us to the Quene

¹ La Mothe Fenelon mentions in his despatches to the King of France that Mary Queen of Scots had taken so grievously to heart some evil words her son had said of her, that she was lying sick, almost to death. It was during that illness these two letters were written by her Scottish attendants, and it may be seen, the same fact is mentioned here. As the poor child was only between four or five years old he could not be responsible for what he said. But the passage shows the uncompromising system of calumny pursued against the hapless mother, when pains were taken to teach the infant lips of her only child to babble "filthy and dishonest words against her;" a task more worthy of demons than human creatures. Nor will the sensibility to this wrong, which threw the poor victim on a bed of sickness, be unappreciated by any mother in these better times.

our good sister that we wryt not to her at this tyme, fynding ourself evill disposed. So comittis you to God, at Chattsworth, the xxiiij day of November 1570,

Your right good frind and mestres,

MARIE R.

1570. *December* —. Mary Stuart is removed to Sheffield, Yorkshire, where she remains nearly fourteen years. During this period, she makes several visits to Chatsworth, Hardwick, and the baths of Buxton.

The Queen of Scots to the Cardinal de Lorraine.

From the Castle of Sheffield, this 1st Dec. [1570.]

My good uncle,—I cannot tell you what pleasure I derived from the perusal of your letter of the 12th of November, to which at present I cannot reply, from the haste I am in to answer M. de la Mothe respecting some fresh suspicions which they have been exciting in the Queen, madam my good sister, to irritate her against me, and about which I am now writing to her in my defence; but on the first opportunity I will not fail to answer you, and humbly thank you for the kind demonstration you have given of the love you bear me, and the will to serve me in all that I can require of you. My good uncle, if I should never have any other proof of this, there is the joy which your said letter has given me, and which will do my heart more good than any thing that could have happened to me. I have nothing further to say, but that you will never love one who honours and respects you more, or who desires more to please and obey you, than your poor niece. Above all, I thank you for the promise which you have made me respecting the priories, and beg you will use all diligence, and remember to send me some news, which I requested you to do in my last letters.

I know not whether the Queen my good sister has

seen your letter. I wish she had, for they try hard to persuade her, as I believe, that you are her enemy: and though I know the contrary, yet I will beseech you to take the trouble to employ your good offices between the King and her, that a firm friendship may ensue, as a good opinion of you may cause her to have less suspicion of me. Not to delay longer this despatch, which I write in haste, I beg you to present my excuses to madame my grandmother and M. the Cardinal de Guise my uncle, for not being able to write to them this time for the reason above mentioned; but I will shortly make amends for this fault; in the mean time, permit me to present them my humble commendations to their favour. I praise God that they and all the rest of our relations are in good health, and pray to God to keep them so, particularly the King, with all the happiness that he can desire, and the Queen madame my good mother. After kissing your hands, I will pray God, my good uncle, to grant you health and a long and happy life. Excuse me, for I am in such haste that I know not what I write.

I beg you will permit me to say to my ambassador that I have received his letters, but have neither leisure to answer him myself, nor to get any one to write for me at the moment; but that I am satisfied with his conduct.

Your very humble, obedient, and affectionate
niece and daughter,
MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to the Bishop of Ross,¹ her ambassador in England.

February 26, 1570—1.

I have received by this bearer, the letter that you

¹ Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. iii. p. 66. The despatch is dated February 26, 1570, but the letter was probably either

wrote me of the 6th instant, and am deeply grieved at your imprisonment, at this time when my affairs are in such great need of you, the [King of France] being, as they tell me, on the point of sending two thousand men into Scotland. I pray you, solicit M. l'Ambassadeur [La Mothe Fenelon] to urge his master to hasten them and advertise the Archbishop of Glasgow and Rollet,¹ to do the same where they are [at Paris.] I would wish to understand what succour we are to look for from Flanders; I fear it will be very little, and come very tardily; for I understand that the Queen of England is now levying an army of twelve thousand men in that country, and will send very soon a force of three thousand men into Scotland, to clear the way for the rest by land and sea, with the intention, as it is said, by force or other means, of getting my son into her hands, and then afterwards to make away with my life; but if God be favourable to me, as I doubt not, I fear not that. Nevertheless, I entreat you earnestly to notify it to the ambassadors, to the end that, if they love me or heed my affairs, they will diligently endeavour to procure succour for Scotland.

It is reported that the King of Spain [Philip II.] is very sick, and that the King [of France] has as much to do in his realm as ever, and that there is little peace among his subjects. Of all this I pray you send me the truth.

The Queen of Scots to Jehan Coban,² Secretary to the Bishop of Ross, her ambassador in England.

Jehan Coban,—If your master is so strictly guarded February 13, or some days later. These letters are not printed in the former edition of this collection.

¹ Her French secretary whom she had despatched on some mission to Paris.

² Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. iii. p. 66.

that he cannot direct my affairs, fail not to find some means of informing me of all occurrences as often as you can. Make my excuses to the French ambassador, if I cannot write to him by this bearer, for I dare not rely on him; supplicate him [the ambassador, La Mothe Fenelon] to speak to the queen [Elizabeth] for your master [the Bishop of Ross], and tell him that it is the malice of [the Earl of] Huntingdon that has procured his imprisonment, for he told me himself that he would be revenged on him.

Pray him [La Mothe Fenelon] also in my name to solicit the king [Charles IX.] his master, as I have sent in another letter to expedite his aid, for he can see the great dangers which beset my kingdom, my son, and myself.

[The secretary of the Bishop of Ross, to whom the last letter is addressed, was involved in the troubles of his master and his queen. In one of Burleigh's fox-like despatches to the Earl of Shrewsbury he says, "Furthermore, we have great cause to have one *John Cobbard*, a Scotsman, servant to the Bishop of Ross, taken. We hear he departed hence twenty days past; if by any means your Lordship can get him, let him be taken, and sent up secretly. If the Queen of Scots be offended with the restraint of the Bishop [of Ross] certainly you may say that the whole council have found his practices against the Queen's majesty [Elizabeth] so evident, and for the more part now confessed by himself, that they all have fully and earnestly determined to proceed against him sharply." The rank of the Bishop of Ross prevented the application of the rack, but the unfortunate secretaries were treated in this merciless reign just as the heathen Romans treated their slaves, to produce evidence if any robbery or

murder was perpetrated, namely, by the application of torture till all was confessed in coincidence with the suspicions of the torturer. Mr. Lodge, in one of his valuable notes on his Illustrations, vol. i. pp. 524, 525, makes the following comment on the examinations produced by the rackings of Higford, the Duke of Norfolk's unfortunate secretary, in Murdin's Burleigh papers. "Several of the Privy Council attended at the Tower day and night for upwards of a fortnight, to examine these wretched persons, who were severely, and at last unnecessarily, tortured by Elizabeth's own express order." Whether poor John Cobbard, or, as his royal mistress calls him, "Jehan Coban," was one of this woful company, we do not know.

The mind of one of the most humane among the Privy Council sickened and revolted from the task of taking down the depositions in the den of horror where these poor wretches were tortured; this was Sir Thomas Smith, long clerk of the Privy Council, who has left in his autograph among Burleigh's papers a document, which brands that minister with equal disgrace to that belonging to his merciless predecessors in power, the Cromwells, Wriothesleys, Gardiners, and Bonners. "Though," writes Sir Thomas Smith to Lord Burleigh,¹ September, 1571, "we be importune to crave revocation from this unpleasant and painful toil, I pray you be not angry with us. I assure you, for my part, I would not wish to be one of Homer's gods if I thought I should be Minos or Rhadamanthus, I had rather be one of the humblest shades in Elysium. I suppose we have gotten as much as at this time is like to be had, yet *to-morrow do we intend to bring a couple of them to the rack*, not in any hope to get anything worth that

¹ Murdin's Burleigh Papers, p. 95.

pain or fear, *but because it is so earnestly commended unto us.*"]

1571. *March* —. Cecil, created Baron Burleigh, advises Elizabeth to marry the Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles IX., afterwards Henry III.; and a negociation on this subject is opened with France.

April 2. The Earl of Lenox reduces the castle of Dumbarton, which still held out for Mary, and orders the Archbishop of St. Andrews, whom he finds there, to be hanged.

—. Bailly, one of the attendants on the Queen of Scotland, returning from Brussels, is seized at Dover, and the despatches found upon him lead to the discovery of a plot for the delivery of that princess.

August —. The Duke of Norfolk, who had been released on his parole, is again placed in the Tower of London, as are also his secretaries, Higford, Barker, and even the Bishop of Ross, ambassador of Mary Stuart. The duke is brought to trial.

September 6. The Earl of Lenox is assassinated, and the Earl of Marr invested with the regency.

*The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.*¹

Sheffield, Sept. 8, 1571.

Madam,—I had resolved to importune you no more with my letters, seeing that they were so little agreeable to you, but the extremity to which I am reduced by your commandment constrains me to do this, to entreat that you will listen to M. de la Mothe Fenelon, ambassador of the very christian king, Monsieur my good brother, likewise to Lord Livingston, present bearer, on what they will tell you on my part, making no doubt that

¹ This letter and the succeeding one, now first published, are drawn from the Rawlinson MSS., Bodleian Library, and were kindly communicated to the editor by Henry Symonds, Esq. of Canonteign, Exeter.

I may not fatigue you by a longer letter, excepting against me to my great wrong. To whom¹ I remit me, they will satisfy you, and remove the suspicions raised, to tell you that, if the treatment that I now have is continued, my strength will not suffice me to bear it. I begin to feel once more my malady of the last year, and I must tell that I have not been for a long time in this state.

I am in your hands, you can at all times do with me what seems good in your eyes, but meantime I will declare to you, and to all the world, that I have given you no occasion to treat me thus, and I should have been grieved even to have thought it.

Pardon me for not writing this to you with my own hand, for I have so bad a pain in my head that it is not in my power. I pray to God often that he will give you, Madam, long and happy life. Written at the castle of *Cheefield*, the viii of September, 1571.

[Endorsed à la royne d'Angleterre, madame
ma bonne sœur.]

[In the original, the above is written in a fine hand by one of Mary's secretaries. Her intention of sending Lord Livingston with this despatch to gain an audience with Elizabeth was, however, circumvented by the Earl of Shrewsbury, as appears by the following conclusion below in the same sheet, written hurriedly in her own hand to Elizabeth.]

Madam,—Thinking, according to the order given, that all those² not included in a certain memorial might

¹ La Mothe and Lord Livingston.

² i. e. her servants; all but ten of her household were dismissed about this time, and did not return till after the execution of the Duke of Norfolk. Mary evidently wished that her faithful friend, Lord Livingston, should go into the world to exert himself for her, and plead her cause with Elizabeth, and it is evident that the Earl of Shrewsbury did not mean to suffer him to visit the

depart whither their affairs conducted them, I had chosen Lord Livingston as the bearer of this present letter, but this being denied and he retained, I have been constrained (having no other liberty) to put the present [letter] into the hands of the Earl of Shrewsbury, by which and by that inclosed herein, I beseech you for pity's sake, at least, to give me some answer, for if I remain in this state, I shall not hope to give you more trouble.

Your afflicted good sister and cousin,

MARIE R.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

Sheffield, 18th September, 1571.

M. de Glascow,—Though John Gordon, the bearer of this, is a Protestant, yet he is a faithful servant to me, and has written against Knox and the ministers in favour of my authority, and I hope that in time, and in the society of learned men, he will become converted; to this end, I beg you will introduce him to some of the most learned, as Master Rignan began; and besides, my Lord Huntly, and my lord his father, are now at the castle, having lost all their property for adhering to my cause. I beg you, therefore, to do all in your power for the bearer, agreeably to the open letter which I have given to the bearer, and to continue to him his usual pension, and take pains to gain him, for he is a very learned young man, of an amiable disposition, and related to many worthy persons. I have no doubt, if he could but be sent to an instructor who is a Jesuit, he might turn Catholic; and to this end, M. de Glascow, take care to send a supply of money, and keep up a com-

English court. The four last letters are now first placed before the English public, and are additions to the present edition of the Letters of Mary.

munication with the palace, and act as a faithful servant of God and of your country. Take care of our country, and I have not the means of doing so, and be assured that you will find in me a kind mistress and friend. Solicit the ambassadors and my relations to join you in interceding for me, and I pray God to grant his grace to you and patience to me. Ask the king to obtain for me a confessor, to administer the sacraments, in case God should call me by one way or other.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Sheffield, November 27, 1571.

Madam,—Seeing the small account that during this time you have made of me, of my letters, minister remonstrances, and humble requests, nay, that you have even disdained to answer me, either yourself or through others, and treat me worse and worse, I have resolved to trouble you no farther, nor to distress myself any longer in vain, but to suffer what God is pleased to send me through your hands, into which I deliver myself in good faith.

On the other hand, as a proof of the patience which it has been pleased God to give me, being willing to all points to act as becomes a virtuous princess, representing to myself at the same time, that as a Christian I have need of charity and humility, and as a woman ought to seek by all lawful means peace and public tranquillity. Besides, I am not a little impelled by the present season, in which, by the nativity of the King of kings, universal peace was proclaimed to the world. Nor must I forget with these considerations for discharging our conscience, that notwithstanding the ev

² MS. Harl. 4678.

you have done me I am your cousin, nay, the nearest kinswoman you have in the world, and that formerly you professed to love me, giving credit to which [profession] I afforded you the means, though not the motive, to ill-treat and imprison me.

Having reflected on all these things with my natural inclination to honour and seek you when you shall please to take these claims in good part, I have undertaken once more to place before your eyes the wrong which you have done me, the justice of my cause, and the integrity of my conduct ; which, though it was not agreeable to you, never tended, as you have been persuaded, to do you any wrong, nor have I done anything unworthy of a good kinswoman. You will please justly to consider this, and relax a little in your anger, and think what you would do in my case. I am convinced that your justice is sufficient to cause you to condemn yourself for having disdained and insulted me, in refusing to admit me to your presence, when I offered, through Lord Burghley and Mr. Mildmay, to unburden my heart to you. I had given myself up entirely to you, signed articles with my own hand—nay, offered you my only treasure,¹ as a proof of my inviolable friendship and strict alliance with you. Instead of accepting and concluding on your part, you have, contrary to your promise, (pardon me it is no longer time to dissemble,) suffered my rebellious subjects to depart without my consent, and without doing anything to secure the maintenance of tranquillity on their part, but, on the contrary, promising to reconcile them with me, at the same

³ She had made Elizabeth guardian to her infant son, at the time she was supposed to be dying at Jeddart of a dangerous fever. The document, dated November 18, 1566, addressed to the Lords of the English Privy Council, stating these particulars. is given in this volume, p. 35.

time encouraging them, and approving the robbery of *Dorchester*.

I pass over the preceding insults, and those which have been since directed against my own person and honour in defamatory libels, and against my ministers and servants, to come to the declaration which I made when Lord Burghley and Sir Walter Mildmay came to Chatsworth. I take them to witness whether I did not show them by all means my extreme desire not only to please you, but to devote myself to you with my whole heart. God is my witness if I had not the same intention without fraud or thought of breaking off on my part, or of seeking any other aid or alliance than yours. And whatever may be said to you, on my honour and salvation I say the truth, and you will not find it otherwise.

But when you mocked me by delays, would not confirm aught between us, but dismissed my enemies with advantageous assurances, and gave me only words—I do not say this at random, for I have good proofs of it—what could I hope further, when recollecting so many vain expectations, I sent to France for attestations,¹ commanded my good and faithful subjects to desist from hostilities against my rebels in conformity with my wishes—yet you gave me just occasion to ask aid and support from all my friends and allies.² In all this I knew how to do nothing, but what I had already mentioned, written, declared, and assured you of,

¹ Alluding to the documents regarding the supposed cession made by Mary of her rights on Scotland and England to Henry of Anjou.

² The reader will recollect that Mary, in the series of letters written from Wingfield, about Easter 1569, repeatedly warns Elizabeth that, if the unprovoked cruelties with which she is oppressed are continued, she must by all means in her power obtain aid from France or Spain.

through the Lords Shrewsbury, Huntingdon, Burleigh, and Mildmay, and what you know yourself through the remonstrances of the Duke of Chatelherault, Lord Heris, Boyd, and all the ambassadors and commissioners.

For four years past, I have done nothing but lament that you have denied me assistance, and that, to my great sorrow, I should be compelled to seek it elsewhere, of which you, madam, might complain and accuse me. If I had done so I should not have been unfaithful to my word; now, on the contrary, you ought to be sensible that I am not one of those who speak one thing and do another, and I again swear to you that I neither have dissembled¹ with you, nor yet will do so. I have offered to you everything in my power, and if you would have accepted it, would have faithfully performed it. This is still my sincere intention towards you, if you will receive me as your relation and true friend, which I say openly and without fear or flattery, for my heart is incapable of either one or the other, and so I would willingly forget all past affronts, and, as far as lies in my power, offer you what would do you honour and pleasure, and remove all doubts from you or your country.

All this I represent to you, to show my natural affection towards you, and also to avoid all injurious results, to the prejudice of all parties and the detriment of this island.

If you would subdue your anger, and treat no one ill

¹ M. Raumer has given this letter as a justification of his violent prejudices against Mary Stuart—as an instance of treachery and false dealing; he had not seen the Wingfield series of letters belonging to Easter 1569, or it would have been apparent that Mary had warned Elizabeth, perhaps somewhat too frankly, that if she was kept prisoner she should endeavour to obtain aid from any foreign allies who would take her part. Hence her negotiation with Alva to free her by invading England.

on my account, I would more than ever seek your favour and try to please you. If my offers, remonstrances, and arguments prevail with you, I will commence anew, and regard and honour you unfeignedly more than I ever have done.

Do not believe that I flatter you, instead of speaking sincerely, through fear of being treated worse, for I can tell that if you think fit to leave me unheeded, you may render my life wretched, and intolerable, and degraded, but not my mind.

Having done my duty in showing you the dangers, and shown how they may be timely obviated, I pray to God that he may inspire you to take advice for his glory, your honour, the public utility, and my liberation. If it be your pleasure to give me an answer, which I humbly request, I will endeavour more completely to testify my devotion to you, and will strive to recover and merit your favour. If you should think fit to refrain from answering me, as you have hitherto done, I shall consider it as irrevocably lost.

From Sheffield, ——— in prison.

Your very good sister and affectionate friend, if you please,

MARY R.

1572. *January* 16. Duke of Norfolk condemned to death.

Sir Ralph Sadler to Lord Burleigh.

Sheffield, January 21, 1571-2.

Please it your lordship,—The posts, whether they

¹ MS. Cotton. Caligula, c. iii., fol. 194. Edited by Sir H. Ellis. Original Letters, 2nd Series, vol. ii. p. 329, where it may be seen in the old orthography. According to our present computation the date is 1572.

work or play, have their hire ; and therefore I spare not their labour, though I have none other occasion than to advertise your lordship, that all is well here concerning this charge ; ¹ and that yesterday I received your letters of the 17th of this present (for the which I most heartily thank your lordship), together with a brief discourse of the Duke's [of Norfolk] arraignment and condemnation, which I forthwith imparted to my Lady of Shrewsbury, to the end that she might take occasion to make this queen [Mary of Scots] understand of the same ; and also, I gave it out to the gentlemen of this house, both what number of nobility did *pass* on his trial ; and also, that his offences and treasons were such, and so manifestly proved, that all the noblemen did not only detest the same, but also, without any manner of scruple, by common consent, every one of them did pronounce him guilty. Which being put abroad in the house after this sort, was brought unto the knowledge of this queen by some of her folks, which [*who*] heard it before my Lady Shrewsbury came to her, for which this queen wept very bitterly, so that my Lady Shrewsbury found her all be-wept, and mourning ; and asking the queen, " What ailed her ? " she answered—

" That she was sure my lady could not be ignorant of the cause, and that she could not but be much grieved to understand of the trouble of her friends, which she knew well did fare the worse for her sake ; for sure she was that the duke fared the worse, for that, which

¹ From this letter, it appears that Sir Ralph Sadler took charge of the Queen of Scots, while Lord Shrewsbury went to assist at the Duke of Norfolk's arraignment ; this letter, which is not to be found in the Tixall Collection, edited by Arthur Clifford, Esq., gives a graphic account of her reception of the tidings of Norfolk's doom.

she of late had written to the queen's majesty ; and said further, that he was unjustly condemned, protesting that, as far as ever she could perceive by him, or for anything she knew, he was a true man to the queen her sister."

Being answered by my lady, "That she might be sure that whatsoever she had written to the queen's majesty could do the duke neither good nor harm touching his condemnation ; so if his offences and treason had not been great and plainly proved against him, those noblemen, which *passed* on his trial, would not, for all the good on earth, have condemned him."

The queen, thereupon, with mourning then became silent, and had no will to talk more on the matter, and so, like a true lover, she remaineth still mourning for her lover."¹

God, I trust, will put it into the queen's majesty [Elizabeth's] heart so to provide for herself, that such true lovers may receive such rewards and fruits of their love, as they have very justly deserved at her majesty's hands.

All the last week this queen did not once look out of her chamber, hearing that the Duke of Norfolk stood upon his arraignment and trial ; and being troubled, in all likelihood, with a guilty conscience, and fear to hear such news as she hath now received. And my presence is such a trouble to her, that unless she come out of her

¹ A clause of so much tenderness, it may be supposed, alarmed Sir Ralph, after he had written it, for he immediately qualified with observations in the malicious style which he knew to be more acceptable to his correspondent and his sovereign ; though, as he had known poor Mary when an infant, it is just possible that he might feel more yearning of heart towards her in her misery than he dared avow.

chamber, I come but little at her, but my lady Shrewsbury is seldom from her; and for my part, I have not, since my coming hither, so behaved myself towards her, as might justly give her occasion to have any such misliking of me; though, indeed, I *would* [should] not rejoice at all of it, if she had me in better liking. But though she like not of me, yet I am sure this good lady, [Shrewsbury,] and all the gentlemen and others of this house do like well enough of me; which doth well appear by their courteous and gentle entertainment of me and mine. My Lord Shrewsbury hath a costly guest of me; for I and my men, and thirty-six horses, do all lie and feed here at his charge, and therefore, the sooner he come home the better for him. Trusting his lordship be now on his way, therefore I forbear to write to him. But if he be there [*i. e.* at court,] it may please you to tell him that all is well here, and that my lady [Shrewsbury] and I do long to see his lordship here; and, as I doubt not she would most gladly have him here, so I am sure she cannot long for him more than I do, looking hourly to have some good news of your lordship, of my return. And so I beseech Almighty God to preserve and keep you in long life and health, and to increase you in honour and virtue.

From Sheffield Castle, the xxi. of January, at night, 1571, with the rude hand of, your lordship's to command as your own,

R. SADDLEIR.¹

¹ Mary never complains of Sir Ralph Sadler in any of her letters; on the contrary, she was so truly grateful for being put into his hands, that her thanks on that score excited Elizabeth's malicious suspicions against the old knight. Nay, Mary, when she has aught to complain of, carefully exonerates Sir Ralph, whom she always terms an honourable gentleman.

*Queen Elizabeth to Mary Queen of Scots.*¹

February 1st, 1571-2.

Madame,—Of late time I have received divers letters from you, to the which, you may well guess, by the accidents of the time, why I have not made any answer, but specially because I saw no matter in them that required any answer as could have contented you; and to have discontented you, had been but an increase of your impatience, which I thought time would have mitigated, as it commonly doth, where the cause thereof is not truly grounded, and that it be, so understand; but now, finding by your last letter, the 27th of the last (month,) an increase of your impatience, tending, also, to many uncomely, passionate, and vindictive speeches, I thought to change my former opinion, and, by patient and advised words, to move you to stay, or else to qualify your passions, and to consider that it is not the manner to obtain good things with evil speeches, nor benefits with injurious challenges, nor to get good to yourself with doing evil to another.

And yet, to avoid the fault which I note you have committed in filling a long letter with multitude of sharp and injurious words, I will not, by way of letter, write any more of the matter, but have rather chosen to commit to my cousin, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the things which I have thought meet, upon the reading of your letters, to be imparted unto you, as in a memorial, in writing, he hath to show you; wherewith I think, if reason be present with you, and passion absent at the reading, you will follow hereafter rather the course of the last part of your letter than the first, the latter being written as in a calm, and the former in a

¹ MS. Cotton. Calig., c. iii. fol. 141. Endorsed minute of a letter sent to the Queen of Scots.

storm. Wishing you the same grace of God that I wish to myself, and that he may direct you to desire and attain to that which is meet for his honour, and your quietness, with contentation both of body and mind. Given at my Palace of Westminster, the first day of February, 1571-2.

Your cousin, that wisheth you a better mind,

ELIZABETH.

April 22. Treaty of alliance between England and France.

June 2. Execution of the Duke of Norfolk.

June —. Morton treacherously delivers the Earl of Northumberland to the agents of Elizabeth.

[Mary's state of mind and health in the summer when Norfolk was executed, may be gathered from some extracts, with which Mr. Turner has enriched his "Reign of Elizabeth," taken from her letters in the possession of Mr. Murray, of Albemarle-street. These letters are addressed to La Mothe Fenelon, June 1572.¹

After acknowledging the receipt of letters from him, from the King of France, Charles IX., the queen-mother, and princess Marguerite, Mary informs him that "Lord Shrewsbury had mentioned to her the Duke of Norfolk's execution, the parliamentary proceeding against her, and Elizabeth's resolution not to have her life taken." "I was only beginning to support myself," adds Mary, "after having done all I could by medicines and bathing to allay the continual torment of my side. At this news I have become worse than before." She affirmed that the Duke of Norfolk had sealed with his blood the testimony of her innocence. "But the pain which I

¹ Murray's MS. Letters, dated by Mr. Turner, June 10, 1572. The events date them just after Norfolk's death, June 2, 1572.

bear from his death so touches my heart, that it surmounts every other apprehension.”]

Mary Queen of Scots to La Mothe Fenelon. Fragment.¹

(Supposed at Sheffield) June, 1572.

I am resolved to die, and have grace and mercy of God alone, who by His goodness made me a free and sovereign princess. I am determined, and will have none of *her* pardons ! She may take away my life, but not the constancy which Heaven has produced and fortified within me. I will die Queen of Scotland. Posterity will judge on whom the blame will fall.

My head is so full of rheum, and my eyes so swelled with such continual sickness and fever, that I am obliged to keep entirely in my bed, where I have but little rest, and am in a bad condition, so that I cannot now write with my hand.

Lord Shrewsbury read me a part of the libel which those of the pretended clergy presented against me—it is full of blood.

1572. *August* 22. The Earl of Northumberland executed at York without trial.

August 24. The horrible and infamous massacre of Saint Bartholomew in Paris.

September 7. Killigrew is sent into Scotland, by Elizabeth, to offer to deliver Mary Stuart to the king's lords, but the Earl of Marr will not accede to the proposal.²

October 8. Death of the Earl of Marr. Morton, warmly supported by the English ambassador, is declared Regent of Scotland.

April 25. Marshal Berwick, sent for by Morton, lands at Leith

¹ Murray MSS.

² Mr. Tytler's recent discoveries have thrown a somewhat different light on this passage.

with an English army, and lays siege to the castle of Edinburgh, which is defended by Kirkaldy, Hume, and Maitland.

May 9. Henry, Duke of Anjou, elected King of Poland after the death of Sigismund II.

May 25. M. du Verger, President of Tours, sent to Mary on the subject of her dowry.

The Queen of Scots to Monsieur d'Humières.¹

Sheffield, May 26, 1573.

Monsieur d'Humières,—Since the death of the late King, Monseigneur, your good master,² I have received no intelligence of your situation until a short time ago, when Rallay informed me you were in good health, of which he had been assured by your good brother Monsieur de Baieux, who, at the same time, made inquiries respecting me, which has induced me, on so favourable an occasion as the return of the president of Tours,³ my chancellor, to command him to visit you on his road, and to present, from me, this letter, and to inform you that, having been deprived of my dowry in Touraine, I am to be indemnified in your neighbourhood, which, I think, will not be disagreeable to you, considering our old acquaintance, and what I have had the honour to be to you in respect to the late king your master, since whose death I seem to have found neither friendship nor acquaintance at this new court, excepting from those who were in his service, but who are all separated, as it were, at present. In fact, I could not have a neighbour with whom I should be better pleased, as the bearer will tell you, whom I beg you to credit as

¹ Jacques d'Humières, gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles IX.

² Francis II.

³ The sieur du Verger, who had come to give an account of matters concerning her domains in France.

you would myself, and to assist whenever he may need your favour and advice for my service. As I place every confidence in you, and as, through him, I shall henceforth hope to be able to hear from you, and you from me, I shall not wrong his sufficiency, but conclude with my affectionate remembrances to you and to your wife, praying God to preserve you, Monsieur d'Humières, in good health, and to grant you a very happy and long life.

From Schefild this xxvi of May (1573.)

Your best and most sincere old friend,

MARY.

1573. *May* 29. The castle of Edinburgh surrenders to the English, and Elizabeth delivers up the prisoners to Morton, who poisons Maitland and executes Kirkaldy.

June —. Mary Stuart passes some time at the baths at Buxton, and arrives, in August, at Chatsworth.

The Queen of Scots to the Duc de Nevers.

Sheffield, July 31, [1573.]

To my cousin monsieur le Duc de Nevers.

Having always found you a good kinsman and a friend to all my house, I cannot but hope that you bear me the same good will, seeing that we were formerly so long brought up and educated together; on which account, having occasion to commend myself to the kind remembrance of the king monsieur my good brother, of the queen, and of the king of Poland,¹ and all my other relations, and I would not omit reckoning you in the number, and begging you to favour and forward the affairs of my dowry whenever they need it, as for one of your fondest and most affectionate relations, which I

¹ The Duke of Anjou, second brother of Charles IX., was elected King of Poland in 1572.

shall always be to you as long as I live. I have desired my chancellor, the bearer of this, to give you every information, and whom I beg you to believe. Fearing lest I should annoy you by so tiresome a subject and my bad writing, I conclude, recommending myself to your favour, praying God to grant you, my good cousin, a long and happy life. From Schefeld this last day of July.

Your very loving cousin,
MARY.

1573. The Bishop of Ross is set at liberty, and retires into France.

*The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.*¹

Sheffield, January 16, 1574.

Madam my good sister,—I have kept silence so long, not on account of idleness or want of desire to remind you of myself and my affairs, or of availing myself of any pleasant opening to reinstate myself, in some part, in your good graces, but for fear of importuning you, since my letters have not latterly been thought worthy of a reply from you.

Meantime, I have written to M. de la Mothe, ambassador of the King [Henry III.,] my good brother, entreating him to ascertain for me what it is I can either suppress or amend in my said letters, which will render them worthy of some favourable reply.

On this he has not thrown any light ; but, according to what he knows, he has promised me much from your goodnature towards me, advising me to make proof of the same, and to entreat you in my letters to hold me in remembrance.

It is from this cause I am emboldened at this present

¹ MS. Cotton. Calig., b. viii. f. 329.

to implore that you will reply to my former requests, and to those that M. de la Mothe will make you on my part; or better make me understand, from yourself, how I ought to act, in order to obtain more affectionate treatment from you.

Meanwhile, may God inspire you to put an end to my long troubles, that you may give me occasion to consider myself as your obliged and affectionate friend, as well as your nearest relation. And not to tire you with a too prolix discourse, I have ventured to take this time, to particularize more the affection I have for you; praying that this step of applying to you may not bring me into any trouble, and that M. de la Mothe may not in vain have made me undertake to re-commence my long-accustomed habit of writing to you, but that I may soon have occasion, by your gracious and much desired reply, to thank him for his good advice; and that by your writing more amply at some other time, I shall no more find your ear deaf to my offers and entreaties; therefore, after kissing your hands, I make humble supplication to God, that He will give you, madam, with health, a very happy and long life. From Sheffield, this 16 January.

Your very affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARY R.

*The Queen of Scots to the Duchesse de Nemours.*¹

January 22, 1574.

My aunt,—If you have ever thought otherwise, save than that I am very glad to hear your good news, and that I am continuing in your good graces, you will have done me great wrong. By the honour and respect that

¹ Bethune MS., No. 9126. Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris. Autograph.

I owe to you, which I shall feel during my whole life, I entreat you, for the future, to hold me in sufficient esteem as to suppose that it will always be the greatest pleasure to me to hear of your prosperity, and that of my cousin, M. de Nemours, and of your little ones, my cousins,¹ who are also as dear to me as their own brothers, my cousins of Guise.

You can easily judge whether poor prisoners are glad to be remembered by their own friends and relations, especially when they are not permitted to write on all occasions as much as they would wish; even at present I am much hurried to write, before the departure of the Sieur de la Mothe from London. I can tell you nothing, save of the evils I endure here; I feel part of those that you have on your side; may God please to bring them to a close, and I will put an end to this present, after having kissed the hands of my cousin M. de Nemours, and yours; and having prayed you to show all favours to this bearer, for love of me, I pray God, my aunt, that He will give you a long and happy life.

From Sheffield, the 22nd of January.

Your very obedient and affectionate good niece,

MARY.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Sheffield, February 20, 1574.

Madam my good sister,—I consider myself very unfortunate in having found, in my adversity, so many

¹ These were the children of the Duc de Nemours; and, his duchess being the widow of Francis, Duc de Guise, her children by Nemours were brothers, by the half blood, to Henry Duc de Guise and Charles de Guise, Mary's first cousins.

persons ready to injure me by all sorts of means, and wrongfully ; for I have not, that I know of, ever done any thing to deserve their displeasure ; yet, they are every day making some fresh report to you, in order to make you suspicious of and angry with me, even at the moment when I am most anxious to avoid the least occasion of giving you offence. I state this, because, ever since you were pleased to send to me Mr. Wade and other commissioners, who informed me of part of your anger against me, I have endeavoured not to speak, to write, or even to think of any thing that I could suppose likely to give you any cause whatever to be displeased with me.

Thus, when I heard of the loss of my castle of Edinburgh and other reverses, perceiving that people took pleasure in talking more about them than was necessary for comforting me, I flatly refused to converse upon that subject, not wishing to make my misfortunes a pastime to any one, and not being able to remedy them ; and also expressly not to furnish occasion to any one to put a malicious construction on my words ; and yet you daily heard some false report concerning me, as I perceive from the letters of De la Mothe Fenelon, ambassador of the king my good brother. But if you would have the kindness to reserve an ear for me, before condemning me on the faith of those who, by such reports, strive to incense you against me, you would soon find that they have no other foundation for their statements than a malicious desire to injure me.

You have been informed that I had attempted to bribe your subjects with my money ; but if you will please to inquire, you will find it a mere supposition, and that, as I have already remarked, in writing to the said S^r. de la Mothe Fenelon, I have too many urgent

calls upon the income I receive to be able to bring more money hither than what is absolutely necessary to pay my servants, and to provide for my wants. If it had been agreeable to you, you might have seen this from the account which I have kept of my moneys, of which I have reserved but a very small sum for the above purpose.

For the rest, it appears unfortunate for my affairs that I have gained so many friends, seeing the ill turns that are done me on all sides; and, though it is asserted “that I complain of being watched too closely, and that I am, nevertheless, continually gaining persons to my side,” I assure you, madam, that I neither see nor speak to any creature in the world, with the exception of those under whose charge you have placed me, and that with as much reserve as possible; for, as for any complaint or remonstrance that I have made to them, God knows they have not obliged me by any remedy they have applied; and even when they have granted me something, at the request of the said S^r. de la Mothe Fenelon, it has always been so thwarted that I have been no better for it. I do not say this to complain of any one, for I have learned to suffer, since it is your pleasure, and I shall never attribute to any but you the good or evil that befalls me in this country, having come and placed myself in your hands as being my surest refuge, for the honour I have to be your nearest kinswoman and neighbour, and have no right to do otherwise than you command; and I should be very simple, having lived so long in trouble, if I did or said, in any house in England, what I wished not to be referred to you and your council, were my affection other than it is towards you, seeing that I have access to none but those whom I know to be charged to watch

me. I suffered too severely at Bourton¹—recollect, if you please, the charity that was done me there—not to be on my guard elsewhere, though I may not appear to be so.

But, to conclude, I feel my conscience so clear, that, whatever reports may be made of my actions, provided people only adhere to the truth, I will give you no cause to be dissatisfied with me, and I therefore beseech you not to believe any thing that may be told you to the contrary; for, I assure you, that I have neither written nor said more than I have said to your commissioners, or written to yourself, and in proof of my innocence in some thing, if you should be pleased to adopt some good expedient, that with your favour I might go to France or Scotland, things being by you re-established for my honour and safety, you will find that I should feel myself greatly obliged to you, and I will gladly prepare to quit this country, that I may manifest elsewhere, when at liberty, my affection for you, which people strive to disguise from you, to deprive me of the opportunity of defending myself in your presence, in which the others have time and place to accuse me. Be this as it may, I beseech you in future to believe nothing concerning me, and not to credit or hearken to any thing against me, but what you have sufficient proof of; for I desire nothing more than to do what is agreeable to you, if you will be pleased to grant me the means, and to permit me to have access to you, that I may lay before you my grievances; for, till that moment, I shall experience nothing but crosses; and, fearing that I have already fatigued you by this long letter, I will send the rest of my remonstrances to Mon-

¹ Bolton Castle, where Mary resided during the conferences at York.

sieur de la Mothe Fenelon, and present my humble recommendations to your good favour, praying God to grant you, madam, good health and a long and very happy life. From the castle of Cheffeld the 20 February, 1574.

Your very affectionate and good

Sister and cousin,

MARY R.

Declaration of my intentions, relative to the answer made to the Instructions of the Sieur Duvergier, my Chancellor, and other points concerning the affairs of my Dowry.

Sheffield, April 29, 1574.

I have seen the copy of the leases of Poitou, which has been sent in compliance with the first article of the said instructions; and it appears to me, that I am not bound either by the reverses of fortune, the chances of war, or internal troubles, to make any reductions to the tenants; nevertheless, not wishing to injure or use any great rigour towards subjects of the king my good brother, respecting the lands of my dowry, I shall be content, out of pity for their losses, that some abatement be made; that is but reasonable; but to take off one half, I think a most immoderate reduction, considering that these farms were let upon very long leases and when the times were very unsettled, consequently, it is certain the farmers would not have taken them under such circumstances and others specified in the said leases, unless they had felt well convinced of obtaining some great advantages beyond the rent at which they were put, and that one year makes amends for another. To commence such a custom could not but prove prejudicial to me, as they might on all occasions, for which

they could never be at a loss, with the said conditions, which, at this rate, would be made for them, and not for me, claim an abatement, and hang back in their payments, in order to compound on their own terms, till they would in the end have nothing to pay ; as I perceive, from the answers given to some of the items in my accounts, they have already begun to do, and which I am much surprised at, and should like to know for what fear or respect one cannot have recourse to just constraint ; for it appears to me, according to this, that the contracts made with them, and the conditions they have entered into, are a mere farce ; and, on the other hand, the journeys, and annual goings and comings, which have been and must henceforward be consequent thereupon, should this system continue, will put me to costs and charges, more for the accommodation of others than for the benefit of my affairs ; and, if I am not mistaken, on this, as I believe, my treasurer founds his excuses for his want of diligence in recovering my rents, and the many corrections in his accounts. I wish very much that some better method were adopted, for that which is now pursued does not at all please me ; and to point out one myself would be rather difficult, unless I had a more thorough knowledge of my affairs. I must, therefore, consult some one over there what is best to be done, after which I will more fully communicate my intentions.

I attach no blame to my chancellor for not having informed me that the leases were publicly disposed of to the highest bidder ; in this he did his duty ; but when I was told of the bad management, I turned to Rouillet, who was present, as being one who could give me some account of the way in which it was conducted, who, having affirmed the same as Duvergier, and that he had been present at some where no fraud could be

practised, the following reply was made, loudly and plainly, before me and those who were in my room : “ If you know nothing more, your eyes must be half shut ; there are douceurs given underhand, and all tends to the injury of the queen and the diminution of her revenue, for, before the game is finished, the consent of her majesty is obtained ; knowing the bidders whom they can reckon upon, they reserve the farms for such, and so the rents are kept low.” This speech closed the mouth of my secretary, and when I told this story to Duvergier, he had no more to say than the other, and yet he must not be accused of not having done on this occasion all the good offices in his power ; for, as to giving cause for suspecting that he had been present at the letting, he could not make any further opposition, or dissuade me from investigating this matter. The aforesaid representation did not come from any of my people, and if my chancellor does his duty, he will not reveal who it was, for he has no orders to do so ; but, on the contrary, I forbade it, as I highly disapprove of the threats which I understand he has used against the informant, if he were known : indeed, it would be more becoming, and perhaps more suitable and easy, to strive to please me, than to engage in quarrels, and to defend himself in that manner.

I complained, at the conclusion of the first article, that, earnestly as I desired in several of my former despatches, to be informed what money I had to dispose of, either in pensions or in other ways, that I might the better regulate my expenses according to the means I possess, I have not yet been able to obtain this information, so that in the estimate for next year, which I should like to make early, I know not at what sum to set down the receipts, for that cannot be taken from preceding estimates, there being a greater deficiency in

one year than another; and, on the other hand, the correction which has been made in mine is so contradictory, and so different in various points from what was fixed over there for the year 72, which has just been sent signed, with a copy of mine corrected for the said year, that, as far as I can see, being kept so much in the dark respecting the state of my finances by those who have the management of them, it would be difficult for me to set it to rights here, and too tedious to mention here in detail the items in which the said contradictions occur, and which I point out for their consideration in the copies remaining in their hands of what they have sent me. I am not a very good accountant, but I see that in these two estimates made out by them there is a difference in the receipts of ten thousand francs—a difference sufficient to put me in doubt which I ought to follow, as they were sent to me both together.

Moreover, after having carefully drawn up the said estimate, signed on the 16th of May, before the said Duvergier set out to come to me, I find it very strange that there should be given him another, totally different both from that which was sent to me signed and from that which I drew up and from the corrected copy, for the receipts are swelled by more than six score thousand francs, and there is an excess in the expenditure by thirteen or fourteen thousand. This ostentation is neither agreeable nor profitable to me. I perceive from it that I am to expect nothing but wind, for it seems to me that there are fictitious items in my estimates; but I should not like to be entrapped, or that any one, upon pretext that I had admitted this or that receipt in my estimates or accounts, should allege that I was bound by it, notwithstanding the said expenses, which he might say he had only to examine,

and not to hurt himself. Without being much versed in these subtilties of finance, it appears to me easy to judge that there is no need for my estimates or accounts authorised by me to be so confused ; and I wish to know, and to be informed in this place, why the said signed statement has been so altered from its first form ; otherwise, I shall be of opinion that the one which has been now substituted in its stead has been sent merely to feel the way, and take advantage of me. I therefore repeat my desire, and insist on being forthwith furnished with a clear and plain statement of the moneys that I may reckon upon for the next year, that I may make arrangements accordingly ; and if this be not done, and I am left to grope my way in the dark, which may cause me to err in my calculations, I protest that those who show that they have a beam in their eye shall not tell me, by their pretended corrections of accounts, that I have a mote in mine.

Seeing the uncertainty of my finances above mentioned, and that three statements have been sent me for one year, all disagreeing, and mine making the fourth, I have determined not to make any alteration whatever in those which I have drawn up for three years, wishing the expenditure to remain as it is, and to be defrayed, before all things, in its present shape, there being funds sufficient for the purpose ; and as to the receipts, after those who have charge of my finances have duly weighed and examined the whole, they must consider, on delivery of the accounts of my treasurer, whether those receipts shall be increased or diminished by degrees or otherwise, as they may think best, and as their duty shall require, a copy of which accounts I expect to be sent to me incontinently, that I may see how my directions have been followed.

As for the second article of the instructions, to

which I answered, that M. Puyguillem will satisfy me in his letters—I declare that I shall not swerve in any manner from the resolution I have taken by that article to which I refer, so that there is no need to say any more about it, unless that I leave it to the judgment of the said Sieur de Puyguillem to do what he thinks most advantageous, and desiring to be informed of it, that I may provide accordingly.

And, forasmuch as I know that M. the Cardinal de Lorraine, my uncle, is importuned to give away several offices, seignorial rights, escheats, and other things, and which he cannot refuse, and yet it is represented to me that he causes them to be taken by force; and that I am so slighted that things are done without my knowledge and consent, often contrary to my will; I beg, as I have tied my hands for some time, in order to pay off my debts, that he will do the like on his part, and that he will leave me to dispose of offices from which I derive income, for I wish to receive the principal thanks for them, and to bestow them upon those whom I think proper for my service: and, to remove all obstacles in this matter, and every impediment to the fulfilment of my intention, I expressly forbid my chancellor, on his duty and the oath he swore to me, and as he shall answer to me for it, to seal any gift or appointment that does not proceed direct from me, and has not my consent and approbation.

I have also seen and considered the reply made to the fifth article of the said instructions, wherein mention is made of the signing and registering of letters conferring office, and regulations made in this department by my uncle, M. the Cardinal de Lorraine, with whom, from the reverence I have for him, I will not find fault. At the same time, it is my opinion that the said regulations have been so urgently called for

and hurried forward without my being apprised of them, more for private advantage than out of respect to me and my interest ; and I do not think it reasonable that the granting and signing of these letters should be confided to one person, or to his clerk, as I understand it is ; for, such affairs passing only through these hands, would afford opportunity for abuse, besides which, it obliges the chancellor to be always with him, otherwise, perhaps, he would only sign what and when he pleased, so that the authority would be vested in him, and not in the chancellor. I do not mean, by this my declaration, to derogate from the regulations of my said uncle, but I beg him to consider the above, and modify the said regulations as he may think fit, so that the dignity of my chancellor may be respected by them, not only in regard to the registering, but all other matters. As to fees, I desire that those which I have mentioned may be continued, and, meanwhile, shall not prevent those which he shall be pleased to order ; but, as to abatements, which I know in some cases to be equivalent to gifts, it is my will that none be made but for important considerations, as I have prescribed.

I command, once more, that all moneys arising from the sale of vacant offices be kept expressly for my use, as I have directed in the said instructions ; and that they be not touched, upon any account whatever, but by my express command and authority ; and, independently of the order given in the aforesaid instructions, that such sums should remain untouched. I further desire my treasurer to see that my will in this respect be fully executed, if he wishes to give me satisfaction. I expect, likewise, that he will not thwart my said intentions, as I am informed he does, by transferring, as much as he can, what I wish to be paid out of the ordinary receipts or pensions, to my casualties, that he

may have the less trouble, and for his private convenience.

I have seen the list, sent me by my treasurer, of such sums as he says he had paid before the receipt of the despatch from my said chancellor; and as, at the departure of my said chancellor, no mention was made of this, and he appeared to know nothing about the matter, it will be difficult to persuade me that, before the journey hither, he had advanced such large sums, considering the complaints which are made to me that he is rather backward in paying. But I suspect that these are mere inventions, to exact so much from my moneys; an expedient which I cannot but think highly reprehensible, that my said treasurer should, in this respect, be more obsequious to others than diligent in fulfilling my intentions, and playing his part to gratify particular persons. I therefore declare, that I will not make any alteration in my estimates hereafter on account of those whom he has favoured, more than what he has been ordered and commanded by me to do; at any rate, in my next estimate, I will consider those who have been omitted, and provide for them as I shall see fit.

There has also been sent to me a list of counsel, in addition to the list already included in my estimates; I cannot see of what service such a number can be to me in the management of any lawsuits, which are ill-advised and ill-conducted. I have lost (as I am assured, and by mismanagement) that in which I was engaged for the County of Réthel; for Madame de Nevers would never have asked me to give it her, as she did, in order to be the more obliged and bound to me, if from counsel, so resolute as mine, they had not learned that I had a right to it, and that it was necessary to address themselves to me.

I have some lawsuits at Rouen of no little consequence, and which, for want of being followed up, have been standing still for a long time, out of respect for the opposite parties rather than regard for my interest; and, as to that with Secondat, concerning which I have so many times called for an explanation, it appears to me that there is not one who knows any more about it than I do myself, or is capable of giving me any information, unless, peradventure, it be a solicitor, who demands a fee of seven or eight thousand francs, and a recompense to boot, besides being entered in my establishment, for having caused me to throw away my money, and to be saddled with fines and expenses; and who applied to my treasurer, in my name, for repayment of moneys not touched but in imagination, to the amount of between fifty and sixty thousand francs, all, as he said, for a decree already issued by the great council, which has never yet been issued, nor will it ever produce me any thing beyond shadow or smoke. Meanwhile, my money, to a large amount, is at stake, and in danger of being lost, without any hope of my being able to withdraw it; instead of benefiting by the fine which Secondat was adjudged to pay me, it seems I have to pay it. They reply, that all this has been done by my counsel, which does not satisfy me, for I am in the hands of these counsel, and will not in any way approve or avow certain things which are alleged to be done in my name, touching the said suit, for I have often desired information respecting it, which they ought to have given me before proceeding further, and then I should have expressed my opinion, which I think was worth having. In short, there is nothing in the answer made to this article of the instructions with which I am satisfied; nor is it a valid excuse, that it was conducted by the people of the king. I should not have

been burdened with these fines and expenses, as much less would have sufficed to pay those whose services were needed. But, to speak more plainly, the gratuities which I was persuaded to give were the cause of the entry, on my part, into the possessions of the said Secondat, sooner than was right; and for this I have been needlessly obliged to make sacrifices, and become involved in a labyrinth of difficulties. They must not tell me all this was done for good causes, and for the purpose of gaining more advantage; the result proved the contrary.

The account which has been given me respecting the claims on the estate of Estrepagny, which I demanded in the twelfth article of the instructions, is not at all to the purpose; and if I cannot have some better information than this, I may as well have none at all. It is said, among other things, that there are difficulties (but there is no particular mention of them, and for a good reason;) nevertheless, that it is advised that copies of the papers relating to the matter should be sent to Madame de Longueville and her counsel. It appears to me that some more special advice than this might have been given me; and that I am discreet enough to keep the secret which is disclosed to the adverse party. But what is it but a repetition, at my expense, of the preceding article! The counsel directs thus, and I may complain as much as I please—the quarry is always concealed from me. This does not at all please me, and in the end I shall be compelled to take such steps, as the disrespect with which I am treated merits. I will not, however, be so uncourteous as others have shewn themselves to me, but will candidly express what I think.

I know that the late queen, my mother, whom God absolve, derived ten thousand livres per annum from

this estate till her death, which was nine years or nearly after that of my brother M. de Longueville ; and, seeing the ingratitude with which she was treated, though she rendered the house so prosperous and wealthy by her virtuous administration, there is no doubt that, had not her title been good, she would have been dispossessed of it, and that, being so closely watched in regard to what she might owe, her dowry would have been answerable for it during that time. However, as soon as her mouth was closed, and there was no longer any one to answer for her about her concerns, as in her lifetime, when she was there to speak for herself, the officers and the other servants of the said house began to pare away everything they could, and to take it from me as heir, and at that time holding the place of Queen of France, as if they thought it a royal charity to benefit the other party ; so that, after examining all their claims and accounts, they made it out that I was indebted to M. de Longueville in the sum of six thousand seven hundred livres, and that for the payment of this M. de Puyguillem had contracted that he, the said Sieur de Longueville, should hold the estate of Estrepagny until the debt was liquidated by instalments of a thousand livres. In this state the business has remained ever since, either from negligence or some other cause ; and, the contract being in the hands of the said Sieur de Puyguillem, to whose care I entrusted this as well as my other affairs, I perceive by the notes affixed to my treasurer's accounts, and even by the last rendered in the year 1571, that the said Sieur de Puyguillem, who had himself affixed, or caused the said notes to be affixed, had advised an action to be brought against the said Sieur de Longueville. The contract, however, upon which this suit was grounded has never been produced ; and since, having put down the said sum together with the arrears in my next estimate for

the year 1572, and directed diligence to be used for the recovery of the same. I am told by the above-mentioned correction of my father that I estimate as to the estate of Estrepagny that there is nothing to receive, because the Sieur de Puyguillem about two years ago, recovered the copy of the marriage contract of the queen my mother with Duke Loys, in which is found, on the back of which is a receipt and acknowledgment of the payment of the residue of her dowry, which is paid to her in France. This payment is, in my opinion, fictitious, and invented for the purpose of obtaining some gift which it was thought I might be disposed to make; but in this they were much mistaken.

The above-mentioned reply given to the instructions, moreover, states that this recovery has been attended with great difficulty and trouble, as it was necessary to send to Blois, Joinville, and Tholozé: this seems to me preposterous, and something more plausible should have been alleged in order to be credited. I never heard of this trouble and new difficulty till now, since I have been rather angry about the bad management of my affairs. In short, I have every reason to suspect some forgery in the receipt which M. de Puyguillem pretends to have found on a copy of the said marriage contract, or that there is an equivalent of some other kind due to my late mother the queen, which is concealed, otherwise the counsel of M. de Longueville would not have been so long before he made his motion; and I have not such little judgment as not to consider the consequence, besides an income of a thousand livres in landed property, or the sum of twenty thousand livres, which it would produce if it were, being equivalent to the other. But I am content that this is merely a bugbear which people wish to hold before my eyes, or fabricated by the counsel I have been to deter me from prosecuting my right, in order to prevent me from incurring

more serious losses ; and I am so sure and confident that, when the imposthume bursts, it will appear how I have been misled by those in whom I placed the utmost reliance, that I will not be any longer imposed upon, be the consequence what it will. During my prosperity, I bore with patience the wrongs, which I well knew were done me, as matters of little importance, and too trifling for me to enter into dispute with the parties who interfered in them ; but, at this moment, when moved by conscience, they ought to recompense me for it, I see them determined to make me lose the whole, it is not right to suffer them any longer to abuse my forbearance, which, being then rightly interpreted, might be called too gross carelessness and neglect of the few affairs that are left to employ my mind and to beguile the time when occasion requires. It is, therefore, my desire that, together with the account which I have ordered by word of mouth, and which I require, by this present memorial, my chancellor to furnish of my other lawsuits, he fail not to give me sure information concerning this, and cause it to be followed up ; and that, for this purpose, all papers, documents, and writings whatsoever, that can be of any service to him, be placed in his hands.

In all the rest of the articles and points in the said instructions, upon which I am told that I shall be satisfied, and to which I make no rejoinder, I desire that the contents be, nevertheless, observed and followed according to my intention therein expressed, and that the present memorial shall not derogate from them in any respect, unless in so far as is expressly specified there or in my present letters ; wholly disapproving of the exception made in reply to the last article of the said instructions, in which I am told that many things may happen from day to day to render the execution of my

orders difficult, nay, in a manner impossible, and extremely prejudicial to my interest; for this seems to imply that they mean to obey me only so far as they think proper, and that, after I have commanded a thing to be done, it ought to be submitted to the decision of my council, which I shall always believe in any thing that is reasonable; but I am determined to be absolute mistress, and above the said council, being old enough to know how to manage my dowry. And rather than go on thus, and be constantly in this anxiety, I will take a new resolution, and cause it to be managed by the officers of the king, and will be content to receive it in money, and with the commutation offered for my assignment, whether it be advantageous to me or not.

There are sums advanced by several persons for clothing and other necessities furnished for me, as I have seen by a copy of the account passed several months ago, and signed by the Sieurs Puyguillem, Duvergier, and La Landouse, amounting to 3499 *livres*, 15 *sous*, 8 *deniers*, *tournois*, with the order at the end, addressed to my treasurer, to pay them, dated the 14th of March, whence I conclude that they are settled.

In a letter from my uncle M. the Cardinal de Lorraine, of the 20th March last, he wrote to me in behalf of the Bishop of Ross, to the effect that the pension I allowed him out of my pensions might be paid him out of the ordinary receipts of my revenue, which I am content to grant him; and for that purpose have made a memorandum, which I send herewith, and that my . . . be satisfied, where he is included for what I intend to be paid, in addition to the sum entered in my estimate, and out of what moneys.

I had, moreover, assigned to James Curl, citizen of Edinbourg, the sum of two thousand *livres* on my said pensions, by an order dated the 1st day of December,

1573; and, as moneys proceeding from my said pensions went in part payment for the annuity granted to George Douglas at the Hotel de Ville of Paris, it is my will, by virtue of this memorandum, that the said sum of two thousand livres, by commutation, be paid to the said Curl out of the money arising from the ordinary receipts of my said revenue, which I had ordered to be laid out in the said annuity by my estimates above-mentioned, notwithstanding that the said order remains in its original form. And forasmuch as in the list of debits extracted from the account of my treasurer for the year 1571, in which list I had ordered what moneys were to be reserved for me, Master Arnould Colommiers, my surgeon, is set down for several years' wages, I will and command that, notwithstanding the said list and order, the said Master Arnould be paid the said wages, either out of the moneys which my said treasurer then had, or which he may have in his hands on account of these debits, or from any other moneys acknowledged by my aforesaid estimates, wherever he shall find funds sufficient. And as to the sum of twelve hundred livres for the Sieur de Quantly, included in the list of debits, and which my treasurer gives me to understand that he has paid and got a receipt for, I consent that it be likewise struck off the said list, and that the said account be discharged.

This present memorial shall be communicated by my ambassador to the Sieurs Puyguillem, Esquilly, Duvergier, my chancellor, La Landouse, my treasurer, and others whom it may concern, and a copy of the contents delivered to each, so that none of them may be ignorant of my intentions; and especially my chancellor, in order that on his part he may use his uttermost endeavours to cause the aforesaid instructions to be duly observed, and to render me an account thereof, as I expect all the others to do on their part, that I may know that their

actions correspond with the language they make use of in their private letters, when they tell me that I should be obeyed; for by this I shall see what I ought to believe: not that I doubt the upright intentions of any one; but I know not how it is that, whatever I may be told, my orders are so ill obeyed, that I am compelled, to my great regret, to write in these terms.

Done at the manor of Sheffield, the 29th day of the month of April, 1574.

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

Sheffield, 8th May, 1574.

Monsieur de Glascow,—None of my subjects or servants has a greater dislike to enter into disputes than myself; yet I would do so both with the one and the other, when I love them and wish to make use of them, communicating my will, and what I think it necessary for them to know, in order to dispose them to fulfil it voluntarily: on the other hand, as far as lies in my power, and I see that it is reasonable, I shall have great pleasure in gratifying them when they solicit emolument, honour, and advancement of me. As I perceive from your letters that you are mistaken in regard to my last, which you think too harsh, this makes me write to you in the style of a mistress, purposely that you may not doubt that all they contained was according to my command; for I never write letters that others dictate. They may, indeed, prepare them; but I look over and correct them if they convey not my meaning, before I sign them. You cannot harbour this doubt in the present instance, for my secretary is so ill that I am obliged to write all my despatches with my own hand;¹ but I am of the

¹ Thus it is evident that the capital business letter on matters of property which precedes the present was the unassisted production

same opinion as he who writes for you, whom you will command to write in milder terms another time, for I do not wish to be compelled to write to you otherwise than is befitting so faithful a subject, and a minister diligent and zealous in obeying the commands of a good mistress, and to remove all occasion for doubt, or ignorance, or discontent, which I suspect some persons are striving to put into your head, knowing that I would not take the same trouble to satisfy them as for you, whose services are so valuable to me.

I will tell you what both your brothers told me to write to you, and I assure you, without meaning to offend you—and you may believe this on the word of her whose testimony alone ought to be positive proof—I have still some of your letters which I received at Winkfield and other places, in which you informed me that M. the Cardinal had placed the seals in your hands until I should appoint a chancellor, and that you would use such authority in the best manner you possibly could to my advantage, hoping that, whoever succeeded you, he would find his road already marked out. You, at the same time, recommended to me a brother-in-law, or some other relation, of the treasurer's, and Duvergier. I appointed Duvergier on this condition, that he should reside in Paris, and come over here to receive my orders; for I should have been vexed had it been given to any one without my knowledge, as I formerly wrote to you. In short, you never expressed a wish to me to keep the seals for any time, or led me to suppose you would feel gratified by having them given to you; and surely, during the two years which elapsed between my gift, or at least the promise by letter written with my own hand to Duvergier, and his entering into office, you had sufficient of Mary Stuart's intellect. There are passages therein which would not disgrace the keenest and closest reasoners on matters of property in the present day.

ficient time to let me know if you wished for the appointment or not; for I assure you that I should have preferred you, had you frankly asked me for it: but naturally supposing that you would have expressed your wish to that effect if you had formed any, I did, as I always told you it was my intention to do, appoint a chancellor, and I am sorry you should have so long deferred informing me of your dissatisfaction, for which there is no remedy.

As to what you tell me that I am censured for it, inform me who and what, for it is your duty, and not to suffer anything to be said in your presence out of pique or caprice against me, and I will let them know what I think of it. They are not very discreet who wilfully intermeddle, and strive to sow discord between an old experienced minister and his mistress, who ought to understand matters better than they do, clever as they conceive themselves to be. Tell them that, whenever I shall look after them, their bad conduct will be discovered; that you will be the first to expose it, and then each must answer for himself. As for yourself, you say that you have no fear of being made a slave, but are determined to follow my directions in everything, by which you shall not lose either profit, honour, or advancement; for you shall be preferred to every one whatsoever: and in future, whenever you have any desire for an appointment or other favour, be not afraid to let me know it, for neither you nor any other person shall ever have anything in my gift but from myself, if I can help it; but, if you are presented with anything from another quarter, as I have so often solicited, I shall consider myself greatly obliged. As far as I can see, the appointment, would only have annoyed you, for you would have gained nothing but ill-will, if you had said absolutely that you would follow my instructions as punctually as I wish; for people over there

like to do only just what they please. If I could but speak to you, I would soon remove any unpleasant impression by explaining the cause of my dissatisfaction, which in no way concerns you ; nor in my choice of chancellor has any person a right to find fault with me, or to accuse me of monopoly, as you say ; but I hate those whom persons over there would wish to appoint, though no one was officious enough to propose or to persuade me otherwise than what I have already written to you, which I shall not repeat—and this is the truth.

I have been informed that, as soon as the news was known that Duvergier had a passport to come to me, it was said in your lodging that Roulet had obtained it for him ; wherein he was unjustly suspected, for the poor fellow never opened his mouth to speak to me concerning it, and would have been glad to take the journey himself if possible, feeling himself already attacked by that disorder which has since reduced him to his present state. In short, it was my own act and deed ; but as he is so odious to you, that you have refused to introduce him as I requested, I will not urge you further. At all events, he will not fail to side with you as I have commanded him, and to take your advice whenever you choose to give it. I never intended that he should be either your superior or equal in the council, where, in the absence of my uncle, the Cardinal de Lorraine, you, as my representative, hold the first place, and where you are invested with authority to see to it that my affairs are conducted according to my orders, which I am certain you will implicitly follow, by way of setting a good example, more especially as you are my natural subject. I beg, therefore, that henceforth I may not again see any expressions in your letters which savour of dispute and altercation, nor hear any more about the dissatisfaction and disgust which

prevent you from fulfilling the duties that you are charged with, as my present situation requires. For the rest, if there are any who murmur at my orders, tell them that at the present moment what I most desire in my affairs is to know those who are disposed to obey me, that I may employ them, with the assured intention of rewarding them; and those who would fain manage my affairs according to their own fancy, that they must change their conduct, or I shall persuade myself that it is not so much for my interest as for their own that they wish to serve me. I want to see if, because I am absent or in prison, my orders are to be slighted or not, and I am willing to listen to the opinions of each, in order to follow the best counsel, which God will give me grace to discern; but wherever I find any confederacy formed to counteract my intentions, I shall hold as suspicious all those who belong to it, and only employ such as pursue a different course.

I have made a declaration of my intentions, in answer to the replies made me to the instructions and estimates, which I gave to my chancellor; I send it you for the purpose of shewing and making it known, as herein expressed: this I beg you to do, and to conform to my wish, which, if I could communicate to you in any other way than openly, you would approve of it, and be convinced, as I before told you, that nothing was done with the intention of injuring you and disparaging your faithful and agreeable services. I would most willingly have sought to procure permission for you to come over, had I not proof that it would be denied me, and were not all my requests viewed with more and more suspicion. I will, however, do all I can, and I beg you will do the same on your part. As for the money which you delivered to the English ambassador. take care and make him return it, and never ask any more in

his hands, nor anything else, for they will not be answerable for anything. If my servants are urgent for their wages, I shall be reduced to great straits. I shall soon send a memorandum of those whom I wish to be paid, the same as if they were entered in my estimate. Look to this, and take care that the assignations, which I sent by Duvergier, for wages and gifts to my servants here with me, be immediately despatched by the treasurer before anything else ; for, until this be done, I will not either give to or recompense any other, excepting the person to whom the Bishop of Ross lent a hundred crowns. I am very sorry that they have not been better satisfied, and without my knowledge. If you can do anything for them, I will most willingly allow for it, rather than remain indebted to them as I am. I recommend, also, to you old Curl ; he is an old and faithful servant, and his son is faithful and diligent in my service. I have assigned him some money, to be employed in the way that he knows of. See to it that he is promptly paid ;¹ and, if opportunity offers of providing for any of his children, you will do me a great kindness by seeking the means. But, that I may have an answer to this despatch how my servants will be paid, I will send a list of those whom I wish to be paid first in France, among whom I shall not forget your servants, particularly the good old man Warkar, whom I have known for a very long time. My *écuyer de cuisine*, notwithstanding all the orders I have given him, has not been able to get any money. I beg you, more especially as I have been recommended, for my own safety, to be cautious in regard to my victuals, to let this be

¹ If Sir Walter Scott could have read these letters, and noted the inflexible honesty of Mary Stuart regarding every pecuniary claim on her, he would scarcely have adduced the incident of the *flesher's bill* in the Fortunes of Nigel ; for if Mary had owed money of the kind it would have been scrupulously paid.

immediately settled; and tell Hoteman to receive his wages, and keep them for him for my sake; and speak to Cheminon, and inquire if there be any means of assisting him to recover part of his money, which was received but mismanaged, otherwise it will be necessary for him to go over himself, which he has already asked leave of me to do; and I assure you I should miss him very much. I am not out of danger if my food is not closely watched, and he is the only person here who has the care of it; besides, as I have no apothecary, he makes up all the medicines for me and my household; and I have not been very well since last Lent, when I suffered a good deal from the cold and want of exercise.

Roulet has sent me a letter from Monsieur de Flavigny, which I have read; but, as the said Roulet cannot answer him, I beg you to make my recommendations to him, and to assure him that, if ever I have the luck to recover my liberty, I shall remind him of his promise to be a courtier, at least in my company, where he will always be wished for and welcome, as his virtues and amiable disposition deserve. I recommend to you my two orphans, Annibal and William Douglas, as you would wish me to do for those in whom you are interested. I am writing for some articles which I want; order them to be forwarded to me as soon as possible, and money for my household. I am also writing to monsieur my brother-in-law; to the queens mesdames my good mother and my sister; to monsieur le Duc, and monsieur de Montmorency; deliver my letters to them, and speak to them in behalf of Adam Gordon, to obtain for him the place of captain in the Scotch guards, M. de Losse being promoted to a higher situation. You are aware how highly this would gratify me. I beg you also to recommend to them Lord Walhton, and render him all the service you can. In short, I beg you to solicit, wherever you can, for the good treat-

ment of all my faithful subjects and servants in France. If I had the means, I would not importune the king to aid them ; but, having none, I cannot have recourse to any but him, in virtue of the ancient alliance between our countries, and the honour I have of being his sister. I beg, also, that in all changes or new edicts, you will not be afraid to require that there be nothing prejudicial to my dowry, as in the case of those *tabellionages* ; and solicit the aid and favour of M. the cardinal de Bourbon, of Montpensier, and of M. de Montmorency, to whom I wish you to address yourself as familiarly as to one of my relations, whenever you shall need counsel and favour to aid you in remonstrating about my affairs in that quarter. I will pray God to give you, Monsieur de Glasgow, health, and a long and happy life.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

I beg you to send me some genuine *terra sigillata*, if it is to be had for money ; if not, ask M. the cardinal my uncle for some ; or, if he has none, rather than have recourse to the queen my mother-in-law, or to the king, a bit of fine unicorn's horn, as I am in great want of it.¹

¹ The superstitious notions of those days attributed, we presume, extraordinary virtues to the imaginary as well as to the real substances, for which the queen writes in this postscript. The unicorn, for a piece of whose horn the queen applies, was no doubt the one-horned rhinoceros of the East Indies, where the horn of that animal is worked up into drinking cups, which sell for a high price, from a notion that the substance of which they are made affords a protection against poison. We see in this very letter (p. 281) that Mary was not without apprehensions lest that mode of destruction might be resorted to in her case. The *terra sigillata* was a sort of red earth, possessing an alkaline quality. Cups were made of it, which caused a temporary effervescence in water which was poured therein. It was considered a very wholesome luxury for the great to drink water out of these cups, the virtue of which went off after one draught had been taken. Brantome very minutely describes them : "They are made of earth of a

From what I have said you have misunderstood what I wrote to you, for I never said that your brothers had specially intended to take the seals from you, but that I would request you to retire altogether, which I refused; and, talking of the seals, they always denied that it was a thing from which you derived much profit. Your brother writes to you as if he had been accused of having done you some ill turn. I assure you, and can testify, that he never thought of such a thing; but he and your deceased brother expressed themselves to me in the terms above mentioned; and about this you may satisfy yourself, without going to La Landouse, and such like, interfere in correcting the *Magnificat*. I will inform you particularly of everything. What I here tell you is enough to satisfy you that I have done nothing to cause you displeasure; but I am not pleased with those lawsuits, carried on where every one must be a judge, and in the end I shall grow angry with them, which is what I have no wish to do. Duvergier had my letters before I had let you know that I had given him them: he will show them to you.

1574. May 31. Charles IX. dies at Vincennes, and his brother, Henry III., returns from Poland to succeed him in France.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Sheffield, June 9th, [1574].

Madam my good sister,—As you have been pleased to intimate to Monsieur de la Mothe Fenelon, ambassador of the king monsieur my good brother, that you were gratified by the liberty which I took to present to you,

tan-coloured red,	' he	is, "this virtue, that when cold
water is poured i	, y	ails and foams over the brim in
at ure i w		. nevertheless it loses not its
c it, i io	w	not those who
at be e e	d so by,	ment exercise."

through him, a trifling piece of my work, I cannot refrain from assuring you, by these lines, how happy I should esteem myself, if you would be pleased to permit me to make it my duty to recover, by any means whatever, some portion of your good graces, in which I most earnestly wish you to be pleased to aid me, by some intimation in what way you think I can gratify and obey you; whenever it is your pleasure, I shall always be ready to give you proofs of the honour and friendship I bear you. I was very glad that you were pleased to accept the sweetmeats which the said Sieur de la Mothe presented to you; I am now writing to Duvergier, my chancellor, to send me a better supply, which you will do me a favour in making use of; and would to God that you would accept my 'services in more important things, in which I should show such readiness to please, that, in a short time, you would have a better opinion of me; meanwhile, I will wait patiently for some favourable news from you, which I have been expecting for such a long time. And that I may not be troublesome, I will communicate what I have further to say through Monsieur de la Mothe, being assured that you will not credit him less than myself; and, having kissed your hands, I pray God to grant you, madam my good sister, health and a long and happy life. From Shefeild, this ixth June.

Your very affectionate sister and cousin,

MARY R.

1574. June —. Mary Stuart again goes to the baths of Buxton.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

From Sheffield, the 9th of July, [1574].

Monsieur de Glascow,—I have nothing particular to say at present, except that, thank God, I am in better health than I was before using the baths, and when I

last wrote to you. I shall will procure for me some turtle-doves and some other y fowls. I wish to try if I can rear them in the country, as your brother told me that, when he was with you, he had raised some in a cage, as also some other fowls; and send me, by the person who brings to London, instructions how to manage them. I shall take great pleasure in rearing them in the country, where I shall see all sorts of little birds I can meet with. There shall be no dissent for a prisoner, particularly since there is no dissent in this country, as I wrote to you not long ago. Please to see to it that my directions be complied with, and I shall pray God to have you in his keeping.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to the same.

From Sheffield, the 18th of July. [1574].

Monsieur de Glasgow,—M. de la Mothe Fenelon, ambassador of the king monsieur my brother, having given me the mournful intelligence of the decease of the said prince,¹ whom God absolve, you may imagine the grief I felt for the loss of so good a brother and friend; and if I had sooner had the means, I should have commanded you to go to visit and condole, in my name, with the queen madam my good mother, and with the queens my good sisters, which I am sure you have not failed to do, so well knowing my intentions; and having since heard lately, from the said M. de la Mothe Fenelon, that there are hopes at present of the return of the king, monsieur my good brother, to his kingdom, I would not omit writing this letter, which I shall desire him to send you, for the purpose of informing you of my intention, which is that, on his arrival, you go to meet and receive him, performing in my name such offices as are re-

¹ Charles IX., who died the 30th of July, 1574.

quired of a good sister and ally, delivering the letters which I have written to him, and assuring him of the good-will which you know I have always borne, both towards the late king and himself; and, if you have opportunity, recommend me and my affairs to him, and to the queen my good mother also, to whom I am now writing, as also to the queen my good sister, and to MM. my uncles.

As for my health, it is, thank God, rather better than before I went to the baths. I have written more particularly to the said *Sieur de la Mothe*, who, I am sure, will have apprized them of it. For the rest, I beg you to take care to get me an ample reply to my despatch of the 8th of May, and that the memorandums which I sent then, and since, be settled, and the amount sent to M. de la Mothe, to be forwarded to me. If it please the queen of England, madam my good sister, to permit you, I should be glad if you would by and by send some one to pay my household, and, at the same time, let me know, in reply, what you have to say about such of my affairs as remain to be settled, and to assist me in remodelling my estimates; for, as for *Roulet*, he has been twice on the point of death within the last fortnight, and it will be a long time before he can assist me again, if he should recover, of which I see no great likelihood, being decidedly consumptive, or I am much mistaken, for he has a continual wheezing, and is quite bent. Still he says he is very well, and, even within the last two days, he told me he was sure he should get better. At any rate, it would be well if M. the cardinal my uncle would provide a person to take his place,¹ his health being very

¹ Nau was the person ostensibly provided by Henry III., the new king of France, who could have been easily imposed on, since his intellect at this time appeared veering and unsettled, which it had been ever since his recovery from a dreadful typhus fever he had

precarious ; I
 me know I , I as I
 position ; for it is
 able persons amo
 forts they wish ; and, above
 in his service, otherwise it w
 trouble than ease, I have
 had enough of it alre y.

If, in travelling to the king, or, for other expenses connected with it, you have need of some consideration, I should be glad if M. the cardinal would allow something extra, only apprizing me of it. I shall approve it, for I know you are frequently in need of aid, and have no desire that you should remain behindhand, any more than get on too fast. On the first opportunity, I will recommend you to the king, and renew my former request for you; meanwhile, be careful that all my affairs are conducted according to my orders.

Should you be permitted to send me some one with my accounts, send me, by and by, Jean de Compiègne, and let him bring me patterns of dresses, and of cloth of gold and silver, and of silks, the handsomest and the rarest that are worn at court, in order to learn my pleasure about them. Order Poissy to make me a couple of head-dresses, with a crown of gold and silver, such as were formerly made for me; and Bretan to remember his promise, and to procure for me from Italy some new fashions of head-dresses, veils, and ribbons with gold and silver, and I will reimburse him for whatever these may cost him.

You must not forget the birds, about which I lately wrote to you, and communicate the contents of this letter to messieurs my uncles, and beg them to let me had in Poland. Queen Elizabeth's last recommendation of Nau is printed in this Collection.

have a share of the new things which fall to them, as they do by my cousins; for, though I do not wear such things myself, they will be put to a better purpose. And to conclude, I will pray God to grant you, M. de Glasgow, a long and happy life.

You must not fail to call, in my name, on M. and Madame de Lorraine, and apologise for my not writing to them at present, for want of leisure. I do not doubt that they will act towards me as a kind brother and sister, having been brought up with them from my youth, and being one of their house. Do the same by my good sister, the queen of Navarre, and remember me to all my relations and friends; but especially to my uncle, M^{onsieur} the Cardinal de Bourbon, and to my brother the grand-prior, to whom I have not time to write at present, so he never writes to me but for payment, and on behalf of his servants; at least, it is a long time since he did. Remember me likewise to M. and Madame de Vaudemont, and M. and Madame de Nemours and de Nevers, and do not forget my cousin du Maine, and his brother.

Serves de Condé, an old and faithful servant, has complained to me of having been forgotten in the estimates for some years. I desire that he and his wife be placed at the head of the list; in the mean time, I have given him an order, which I beg you will see is paid to him. Tell M. the cardinal, to furnish him with money to go to Scotland to take an inventory of the furniture which was in his keeping there, and to bring a certificate of what is wanting, who has it, and on what account he delivered it to them, and likewise testimonials from M. and Madame de Huthed, Lady Ledington, and Lord Seton, to whom he may deliver all that he can recover; and if I learn from you, on his return, that he has rendered a good account, and arranged matters well for the

future, I will take such steps as, with your approbation, I may see fit, for keeping his son-in-law, or some other person there, as may be found most convenient.

Your very kind friend and mistress,

MARY R.

Remember me to the Bishop of Ross—I have nothing to write to him about at present.

The Queen of Scots to the same.

From Sheffield, the 4th of September, [1574].

Monsieur de Glasgow,—It pleased God to take Roullet, my secretary, out of this wretched life into his glory, on the last day but one of August, at eight o'clock in the morning, and so suddenly that, when I sent to inquire after him, as was my custom every morning, he was breathing his last, so that he said nothing when dying about what he had requested of me before. I have set down what he said, as nearly as I can recollect, in a letter which I have written to M. Ferrarius, and to Hoteman; which you will ask to see, and solicit them to accept the duty he has bequeathed them, and let me know whether they will fulfil it. He has left me the five thousand francs which I lately made him a present of, saying that he had sufficient to fulfil his last wishes. You must inquire respecting this, and, if you find it to be so, withdraw the said sum from Hoteman, or from the treasurer, because one or the other has received it for him, and which you can retain until you hear my further intentions. Make diligent inquiry for some one to serve me as secretary, and send him to me as early as possible; for I must not act any longer in this capacity, unless I wish to kill myself.

I beg you to inform my treasurer that I am displeased,

because my officers here, with the exception of one or two, are not paid according to the order I gave him ; and those whom he has paid, at least Du Cartel, my surgeon, tells me that he has reckoned the crown at sixty sous. Inquire if that is the value of it, for, if he wrongs my servants to make a profit by them, I will not suffer it. He has had sufficient profit by holding their wages from them for so long a time after they were due, and in only paying those abroad whom he pleased ; though there was no need for it, because they compounded with him for one half, as Chateaudun was in the habit of doing with my officers. Dolu wrote to me that he had paid all ; but I see to the contrary : he has no, for he confesses himself that he is in my debt. I beg you will show him this part of my letter which relates to him, or let him know that I am extremely displeased, as he shall find, if he does not endeavour to satisfy my poor servants who are about me, and those who are recommended to me. I beg you will see that nothing further be done contrary to my instructions. Rouillet is dead ; they can no longer suspect that it is he who puts this into my head ; and, as for Duvergier, he never spoke to me about him ; but I insist that he and all others obey me, and follow my orders, let them displease whom they will, and, as I am in expectation of your general despatch, I will not say more at present, but desire you to beg the cardinal, my uncle, not to permit any more money to be spent in the suit with Secondat ; for I tell you plainly, that I will give it up rather than lay out another farthing upon it, let my counsel think what they please, unless they make it appear that there is a better prospect than I see at present. As far as I can learn, the six thousand francs are to be followed by more ; I set my face against it ; show this to my said uncle, that he may forbid them to proceed further without his consent.

I have received a letter from Saint-Cheran, applying for the situation of his brother, who is in Champagne. Tell him that, having seen the despatch, by and by, according as he behaves himself, if he treads in the steps of his brother, and relies on me only, I will willingly comply with his request, and take him into my service, for I insist that my officers, especially those who are here with me, depend entirely upon me and no other person. If any one should urge my chancellor to do any act without first consulting me, I beg you will take care that he refuses, until my intention be known, for that was the principal reason why I took him, and that he should depend on none but me. In so doing, I beg, as you love me, to support him, for I am resolved to be obeyed.

For the rest, present my humble remembrances to the king M. my good brother, and to the queen my good mother, and beg them to command that all privileges and things in my gift may be reserved for me, and not given away, as they have been for some years past, under the name of grants from the king. Remember me to Messrs. my uncles, to my cousins, and to all my kind relations and friends, and take care to send your despatch by a trusty person, and furnished with a safe passport for what I want, as all the letters of Senlis were taken from him. After sincerely recommending myself to your remembrance, I pray God to have you in his holy and worthy keeping.

I beg you will desire my treasurer to pay the money as soon as possible to old Curl, for I fear that the assignment will be at a long date, and that he has great need of it for his poor motherless children. I recommend him to you. I have not leisure to reply to the request of Walker, nor have I a creature to assist me ; tell them they shall not be forgotten, nor yet the young lady who

was to have come with Rallay,¹ who, perhaps, some day may be in my service.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

Apprise M. the cardinal, that if any one speaks to him for the situation of *maître d'hôtel*, held by the late Esguilli, he must not promise it, for I intend to make alterations in my household, and to have this situation abolished, as I have likewise resolved to do in regard to many others as they become vacant. I shall do the same with Rouillet's pension, leaving only the wages of a secretary for another in his place, and I will not permit any person to be placed over there on my list without my knowledge, or I shall strike them out. .

Do not forget my humble remembrances to madame my grandmother.² Rouillet has left letters which he wrote to you without addressing them, to M. de Ross, and to M. the cardinal, whom I ought to have mentioned first; I shall reserve them for a better opportunity, as they are not important, being merely on the matter concerning which he conceived himself to be suspected over there. Remember me to M. de Ross, to whom I have not leisure to write at present.

The Queen of Scots to the same.

From Sheffield, 22 September, [1574].

Mons^r de Glasgow, yesterday evening I received your letter of the 3rd of August, in which you mention the things and the memorandum of those sent to M. de la Mothe; but he makes no mention of them in his letters to me, which makes me think that they are not yet come. I wish they were, as well as the accounts and

¹ Rallay was an old lady who died at Wingfield in her service, in 1585.

² The Dowager Duchess of Guise, Antoinette de Bourbon.

other papers. I have received my watches, one of which is new. As for the request you made me, I grant it you, and shall write to my chancellor to seal it; but I have a commission, and a very particular one, to give you; it is to negociate an exchange of benefices between a brother of M. de la Mothe, ambassador of the king, monsieur my good brother, and M. de Saint-Sulpice, who, in this exchange, demands one of the three following benefices, namely, Cheusy, Meulan, or Moret, which are in the gift of M. the cardinal my uncle. I shall write to him immediately. Deliver the letter, and solicit him in the kindest and, if need be, the most urgent manner you can, to grant me this favour, which will afford me extreme gratification. I am sure that, in a more important matter, my mere request would, without difficulty, gain the point with him: it is the first favour of this nature that I have ever asked, and it is for one to whom I am under much greater obligation than the value, even if it were a free gift; much more does it behove me for an exchange to use all my interest, which I flatter myself to be such with my good uncle that he would not refuse me a better benefice in his gift, especially as it will be so well bestowed on one to whom I am so much indebted, that, if I had the means, I should feel bound to gratify all belonging to him. The only thing I fear, and which makes me so earnest in my solicitation, is, that he may already have disposed of it to one of his own friends. If, to oblige me, my uncle be compelled to take one of the three from any person, the brother of M. de la Mothe has a benefice which would serve in exchange for it if he pleases. If he places the gift of it at my disposal, I shall take your advice upon it. The said Sieur de la Mothe will inform you more particularly about it. It is enough to intimate here that you will render me a most agreeable service by exerting yourself in this

matter, and, if you succeed, I shall be the better pleased with your diligence, which I have no doubt of any more than if it was for yourself.

For the rest, I have heard of the safe arrival of the king, monsieur my good brother, to whom I trust you have already presented my letters; and I beg, on the receipt of this, that you will immediately make him my affectionate remembrances, reminding him, according to your duty, of whatever is requisite for the benefit of my affairs; as also to the queen, madame my good mother, whom, above all, you must on my part solicit to be pleased to ensure me the rights and appointment to offices in my gift, which have frequently been violated in various ways, by preserving them for me, and to this end ordering the court of parliament no more to ill treat me on account of offices of judicature than the other dowagers, and the other tenants of the domains, and that they leave to me the free disposal of them. For the rest, remind them that I have been in a similar predicament in regard to appointments to captainships and other offices, such as those held by Puyguillem and others, and which they pretend to say were given them by the king. I wish to have this matter cleared up; and I trust, on his accession, I shall experience his favour as one of the most affectionate of sisters, and wife of that brother who loved him above all the others. I leave to your discretion to urge whatever you think necessary for the benefit of my affairs, begging you will also recommend me and them to Monsieur the Duke, the King of Navarre, the Cardinal de Bourbon, and other lords, my kind relatives and friends. I beg you, if the things are not yet sent off, to hasten them, and recommend me to the good graces of M. the Cardinal my uncle, soliciting him to carry into execution the declaration of my will, which I lately sent over to him,

and from which I have drawn up the enclosed short memorandum by way of answer as to what is most urgent. After M. le Cardinal has seen it, you will forward it to my chancellor, to be laid before my council, so that they may not proceed another step in that suit, about which in particular I am so displeased.

You will have heard of the death of Roullet, which I gave you an account of. I am waiting for the things, but, as I have no memorandum of them, I cannot at present order what more I want, so I will conclude, begging you to commend me to all my relations. You will also present the two squares of my work to M. the Cardinal, my uncle: they have been a part of my occupation. And I will pray God, Monsieur de Glasgow, to grant you health and a long and happy life.

If M. the Cardinal de Guise, my uncle, is gone to Lyons, I am sure he will send me a couple of pretty little dogs; and you must buy me two more; for, besides writing and work, I take pleasure only in all the little animals that I can get. You must send them in baskets, that they may be kept very warm.

Your very kind mistress and best friend,

MARY R.

Memorandum of what I at present consider necessary to be done in my affairs, until I can more amply reply to the representations made to me from France, touching my said affairs and the particular requests of my servants, whom I will speedily satisfy, God willing, after I am supplied with a secretary, which I have already required and demanded.

In the first place, respecting the suit with Secondat, I do not find in all that has been sent to me any apparent reason why I should lay out more money on the said suit; I am therefore displeased that so little atten-

tion has been paid to my interest, as to proceed so far without my consent. In consideration whereof, and the uncertainty of the issue, and that those who have involved me in it can give me no better advice than to sink more money than I can ever get back, I insist that the said suit be settled without incurring further risk, or that this gift be delivered back to the king, so that I may be relieved from it as a thing managed entirely to my annoyance and injury; and, if what has been already expended can be recovered, let means be used forthwith, otherwise I would rather lose what I have laid out upon it, than risk more at the hazard of having to pay expenses of which others will have reaped the benefit. Let the opinion of my counsel be what it may, M. the cardinal my uncle will, if he pleases, command my chancellor, and others whom it may concern, in order that my intention be fulfilled, that they proceed in one of the two ways that he shall deem most expedient, on which I beg him to give me his opinion, seeing no better remedy to save me from greater inconvenience, to which this suit might lead. And my ambassador shall, if need be, entreat the king and his council for his assistance and favour to rid me of this suit, representing the injury it is to me, instead of benefit.

Moreover, I beg M. the cardinal to command especial obedience to be paid to the fifth article of the instructions of my said chancellor respecting the registers. Henceforward, let my money be put in the coffer, even that which the treasurer is indebted on rendering his accounts, with the exception of that which shall have been assigned in payment by me; and if my said treasurer says that he has not yet received it, let him go or send to the spot, and show his diligence in recovering the said moneys.

Let the servants with me, who have not yet been paid, have the whole of what is due to them up to the present year, the wages for which I desire to be sent over to all those who are here by a special messenger, who shall take back their receipts.

I entreat the cardinal, my said uncle, to see to it, that I am promptly obeyed on all the above points.

Given at the Manor of Sheffield, xxii^d September, MDLXXIV.

The Queen of Scots to the same.

Sheffield, the 13th November [1574.]

M. de Glasgow,—Having received the sweetmeats by the hands of the bearer, the brother of my chancellor Duvergier, I have thought it right to give you a line by him, merely to tell you that I am well, thank God, and waiting for my secretary, and if you do not make haste and send him, you will hear no more from me, for so much writing makes me ill. Till then, I shall not write to you about business; but do not forget, as you are so often at Lyons, to send my little dogs. For the rest, Madame de Briante has returned into France, where she is likely to have a great deal to do, especially with her brother-in-law, respecting her dowry. If she has need of my interest with him, or with any other, or with those of the law, I beg you to do all in your power to assist her, and request M. the cardinal my uncle to do what he can for her in all her affairs; and, if she needs letters of recommendation from him, or from any of my relatives or kindred, you must procure them for her in my name, with leave of my said uncle; so that, if she has occasion to solicit the settlement of her suits in Paris, he may, for my sake, accommodate her with apartments in some one of his houses that may be most suitable. She is an excellent and

virtuous lady, and an old servant of the late queen my mother and of myself, and her daughter is daily rendering me most agreeable service. But you are so well acquainted with her merits and virtues, that I shall not make this letter any longer, unless to pray to God, after recommending myself to your good graces, to grant you, M. de Glasgow, health and a long and happy life.

Your very good friend and mistress,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to the same.

From Sheffield, 20th February [1575.]

Monsieur de Glasgow,—I am much astonished that, on so melancholy an event,¹ I have neither received information nor consolation from you. I cannot attribute this to anything but the extreme sorrow you feel for the loss I have sustained; yet, God be praised, if he sends me afflictions, he has, thus far, given me grace to support them. Though I cannot, at the first moment, command my feelings, or prevent the tears that will flow, yet my long adversity has taught me to hope for consolation for all my afflictions in a better life. Alas! I am a prisoner, and God has bereft me of one of those persons whom I most loved; what shall I say more? He has bereft me, at one blow, of my father and my uncle: I shall now follow, whenever he pleases, with less regret; but yet, instead of comforting me, do not distress yourself too much on my account, lest I might be deprived of a good and faithful servant, which, I feel assured, I have in you.

I have made some new regulations, as you will see, but merely with the intention of investing you with the

¹ The death of the Cardinal of Lorraine, Charles de Guise, which took place at Avignon, 26th December, 1574.

power of providing for those legacies which are most urgent. I beg and command you to accept the charge without any hesitation, and to attend to my affairs, and do your utmost that I may in everything be strictly obeyed. There are some moneys which you will oblige by seeing to it that my treasurer collects. For the rest, you will be made acquainted with the subject by my said instructions, and by what I have commanded your brother to write to you ; for, as you may perceive by the marks on this, it is painful to me to write on this subject. I had no need to be told of this event ; as I had a frightful dream, from which I awoke fully convinced of that which was subsequently confirmed. I beg you will write me a particular account of everything, and if he spoke of me before his death, for that would be a consolation to me.

I send you a letter to be delivered to the King, M. my good brother, in which I recommend you to him. Hasten the departure of Nau, for I can do nothing respecting my accounts without him. Send me the head-dresses from Poissy and other things as soon as you can, and be sure to remind the king and the queen of my affairs, the more so as I have need of their favour and assistance, and comfort for me, if you can, madam my grandmother, my uncle M. the cardinal,¹ and my aunt, and tell me all the news respecting them, which I pray God may be good, that he may have you in his holy keeping.

You will inform Lord Farnhers (Fernihurst) that I have heard of his arrival over there, and shall be glad to render him any service, as also to Haumenes and Hakerston, to whom I shall write on the arrival of my secretary ; meanwhile, I shall not forget them.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

¹ The Cardinal de Guise, Louis de Lorraine, died in 1578 ; he was brother to the Cardinal de Lorraine.

I beg you to follow up the affair of the priory, of which I before wrote to you, with my cousin de Fescout, as you did with monsieur the late cardinal my uncle. I have written a few words to him, which you must deliver, and beg him to let me know his decision, and let me know, as speedily as possible, what answer he gives. Send Nau to me without delay.

I had forgotten to beg you to stand sponsor, in my name, for M. Duvergier's infant; if it is a boy, name him after yourself—if a girl, Antoinette. You are acquainted with the custom, and that the present and the money must be given in the chamber, in the usual manner. A chain for the waist, and another for the neck, of a moderate price, must serve for the present. I forgot to tell you that I wrote to you some time ago, begging you to assist the good lady Seyton in her affairs, with my name and interest; but I have been told you never received those letters. I, however, trust these few words will suffice for this purpose of recommendation, and I am sure that you will exert yourself so readily, that I shall not have occasion to repeat my request; remember me to her, and let her be paid agreeably to what you will perceive to be my intention in the memorandum.

1575. *September*. M. Castelnau de Mauvissière succeeds M. de la Mothe Fénélon, as French ambassador at the Court of England.

The Duke of Alençon, having taken part in a plot against his brother, Henry III., quits the court, and places himself at the head of the Huguenots.

The Queen of Scots to the same.

Sheffield, February 12, 1576.

M. de Glasgow,—I am highly pleased with my watch, and admire it so much for its pretty devices, that I must

thank you for it. Do not forget my arms and devices about which Nau my secretary has written to you ; and especially those of monsieur my late grandfather,¹ and madame my grandmother. I am very fond of my little dogs ; but I am afraid they will grow large. The Sieur de Mauvissières, ambassador of the most Christian king, monsieur my good brother, has begged me to accept some barbets² and sporting dogs, of the purest breed, and I immediately begged the Earl of Shrewsbury to assist me in this matter, as no body has access here. He has given me three barbets, and two of the others, which he has been assured are good ones ; but after we had them, the Sieur Mauvissières informed me that he should keep them a little longer, and, as I should not have a better opportunity of sending them than by my servants, I have done so, and beg you will try them and see what they can do, and, if they are good, send them to my cousin de Guise, to be presented to the king, if they are of the sort that he wants ; and let me know what sort it is that he wishes to have, for I am sure the said earl will not refuse to let me get more, as they will be well bestowed. I am a prisoner, and, therefore, cannot form any opinion of the dogs, except of their beauty, for I am not allowed to ride out on horseback, or to the chase. Recommending myself to you, I pray God to have you in his keeping.

Do not forget to solicit for my physician, and permission for me to go to the baths, of which I have great need, having been very ill for the last three months.

Your very good mistress and best friend,

MARY R.

¹ The first duke de Guise, her mother's father.

² Now commonly called poodles.

1576. *May* 9. Treaty of pacification. The Duke of Alençon is reconciled with the king, and takes the title of Duke of Anjou.

Death of Bothwell in Denmark, leaving a declaration exonerating the Queen of Scots from all participation in the murder of Henry Darnley.

[The reader will recollect that Bothwell had been detained prisoner in Denmark ever since his flight from Scotland in June, 1567. At the commencement of the following year, he addressed two memorials to his Danish Majesty, for the purpose of clearing himself from the charge of participation in the murder of Darnley, and applying to that sovereign as an ally of Scotland, for the assistance of a military force to release Mary from confinement at Lochleven, and to replace her on the throne. The Declaration which follows, though a tissue of falsehood put forth by Bothwell to exculpate himself, is an interesting document, from which may be gathered the fact, that he was the only leader in Scotland who had been accustomed to command a regular army, or who understood the management of the paid regular troops on which all sovereigns depend for the occasional enforcement of the laws. Such a body of men he had commanded since Mary's infancy, and in all troubles had certainly adhered to her cause. And when his forces were disbanded by faction, yet did his men "soon swarm again under the long accustomed banners." Hence was Bothwell always powerful whatever party was uppermost; and hence his power with the helpless queen, when the demon ambition whispered to him that she was at his mercy. Like many a military commander, before and since, he snatched at the crown, and brought ruin at once on himself and on its female possessor.]

*Declaration of the Earl of Bothwell, addressed to the King of Denmark.*¹

In order that the King of Denmark and the council of his kingdom may be better and more clearly informed of the wickedness and treachery of my accusers hereunder named, I have (as summarily as I am able) explained and truly declared the causes of the troubles and commotions which have occurred ; of which they alone have been the principal authors and promoters, from the year 1559 to the present time.

I have similarly declared their calumnies, and the mischief and detriment they have occasioned to myself: which statement I can and will maintain to be true, as (with God's assistance) any one may clearly see and understand.

At Copenhagen, the eve of Twelfth day, 1568.

Here follow the names of the principal chiefs and authors of all the troubles and seditions in question.

Earls Murray,	Lord Lindsay,
Atthel,	Secretary Ledington,
Glencarn,	The Clerk of the Register,

¹ This document was unknown to any of the historians or biographers who have treated of the events of the period to which it relates. The original manuscript, preserved in the library of the King of Sweden, at the palace of Drottningholm, is accompanied by an attestation of the Chevalier de Dantzay, ambassador from France to the Courts of Sweden and Denmark, who was in the latter country when Bothwell arrived there, and to whom he delivered it, being unable to get it conveyed through any other channel to the hands of the king. That document is as follows :—

“ I received this instruction [the memorial] at the castle of Malmoë, the 13th day of January, in the year 1568, from James Bothwel, Earl of Bothwel, Duke of the Orkney Isles, husband of the Queen of Scotland, &c., and delivered it at Helsingburg to Mr. Peter Oxe, present Mr. Johan Friz, chancellor, the 16th of January, whereupon I received from themselves the answer thereto at the Castle of Copenhagen, the 21st of the said month.”

Morton, The Clerk of the Justice.
Marr,

Also those who have joined the above-named in these latter troubles.

Lords Hume Tillebairn,
Sawquhair, The Mayor of Edinburgh,
Sempel, Sir James Balfour.
Reufuen.

The above-named, tired of thé obedience and fidelity which they owed to their superior, began to concert measures and hold secret assemblies in all parts of the kingdom, in order to excite the common people to favour their views. And the better to persuade them that their cause was just and good, they put forth the pretext of desiring to uphold religion; and thus the conspiracy they had formed against their queen (I shall forbear to mention many other offences of which they are guilty) commenced by laying siege to the town of Leith, and their efforts continued to be directed against her majesty, the members of her council, and her other faithful subjects in the said town. Also they persecuted those who were scattered over the country at their different residences, and who had refused to join their party, doing them all the mischief in their power, by pillaging their houses and castles, and caused infinite detriment to many worthy persons in all parts of the kingdom, notwithstanding the queen, with the nobility and others of her subjects, had previously resolved to reform the said religion and put it in good order, without, however, subjecting them to any restraint.

Moreover, not content with this, they persevered in their wicked machinations, and prepared the way for new troubles, by giving free ingress to the English, our ancient enemies; uniting themselves in secret alliance with them against the queen and those of her kingdom.

They renewed the siege of the town of **Leith** (which they had been forced to abandon) in order to expel the French, who were in possession of the town, and defending it against our ancient enemies aforesaid.

The most Christian king had, a short time before, married the young Queen of Scotland ; in consequence of which event, the nobility and others of the subjects of the kingdom made him certain promises, and even sent letters by special messengers to his majesty in France, tendering him their allegiance, as became good subjects : but I am ignorant of the cause which induced them to do so.

In the mean time, in consequence of reinforcements from England, the said town had surrendered, agreeably to a treaty concluded between her said majesty and the Queen of England, and negotiated by their ambassadors ; in which treaty it was stipulated that all former hatred and animosity, as well on the one side as on the other, should be at an end. Nevertheless, in the malevolence of their hearts, they carefully sought out those who had previously offended them, or impeded their proceedings during the said siege ; especially myself, who (although unworthy of such a distinction) had been appointed lieutenant-general of the queen my mistress, to provide for the exigencies of the war ; in the course of which I had, according to the laws of arms, taken several prisoners, both Scotch and English, and in all respects had done my best to acquit myself of my duty. Moreover, I had captured upon the frontiers a certain sum in money, which had been sent from England for the pay and maintenance of their troops.

Shortly after the surrender of **Leith**, and the return of the French to their own country, his most Christian majesty died. Upon which the queen, by the advice of her friends, and at the solicitation of her faithful subjects,

thought of returning to her own kingdom. Which design she put in execution, the better to confirm the alliance and treaty above-mentioned, and to reward her faithful subjects for the services they had performed during her absence. Among others she rewarded me much more liberally and graciously than I had deserved, a circumstance which incensed my enemies to the greatest degree, and induced them to exert themselves so successfully to my detriment as to deprive me of the favour and good-will of her said majesty. Also they caused the dismissal of the Earls of Arran and Huntly; the said Earl Arran as being a near relation of her majesty, and therefore eligible to succeed to the crown; and Earl Huntly and myself as being capable of frustrating their designs.

The principal agent in this seditious proceeding was Earl Murray, an illegitimate brother of her said majesty, and formerly canon and prior of St. Andrews, who considered that our ruin would be very advantageous to him; that, when we should be disposed of, he should easily accomplish the object he had in view, namely, that of becoming the second person in the kingdom; and that afterwards he should contrive that the queen, the nobility, and in short all ranks of Scotchmen, would unanimously consent to his being heir to the crown, as well as his issue or next of kin, in the event of the queen dying without an heir.

And, to give a colouring to his presumption, he falsely gave out that Earl Arran and myself (who had recently adjusted a little difference that had formerly existed between us) entertained designs against his life, as well as against that of certain other members of the council; also, that I had it in contemplation to take the queen by surprise, and to convey her away to some one of my residences, in which I should deem her person most secure.

In consequence of these false accusations, we were ordered into close confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, notwithstanding we had demanded that judicial proceedings should be instituted, and that we should be legally heard in our defence, as such an affair required; which demand was not, however, acceded to.

Earl Huntly, who had been charged with the same offence, and was not on his guard against his enemies, was surprised while on a journey, and secretly put to death by the said Earl Murray. The son of Earl Huntly was also taken, tried, and condemned; and the whole of their property forfeited to the crown.

On being informed of this scandalous murder and most unjust persecution, I began to consider within myself by what means I might ascertain the real opinion and feelings entertained by the queen towards me; and succeeded in learning that she was persuaded I had been accused from motives of personal animosity and envy; but that at the present moment she was quite unable to afford me the smallest assistance, being in fact destitute of all authority. She recommended me, however, to do the best I could for myself.

In consequence of this favourable reply, I used my utmost exertions to obtain my release from confinement, and having succeeded, determined to proceed to France by sea. A tempest, however, drove me upon the coast of England, where the queen of that country received me with great demonstrations of friendship, as did also several of her faithful servants, far beyond any thing I could have expected, especially as during the war I had done serious mischief upon the frontiers of her kingdom, as well as to those who inhabited them.

I afterwards quitted England, and proceeded on my journey to France, having previously received certain letters from the Queen of Scotland, addressed to his

most Christian Majesty and the members of his council, the object of which was to secure to me the distinctions conferred there upon the nobility of our country, according to the tenor of an ancient treaty passed between the two said kingdoms of France and Scotland. Having obtained these, I received letters from the Queen of Scotland, in which she commanded me to return to her dominions for the following reasons.

The queen, being aware of the crafty and malicious designs of her enemies, and being desirous of tranquilizing her kingdom, and of establishing good order therein, for the benefit and relief of her subjects, resolved to marry a young prince of her own blood, who to that end had come from England to Scotland, trusting (as reasonably she might) that none would presume to offer any impediment to such union. Nevertheless, the seditious persons before-mentioned did oppose it to the utmost of their power; because they desired before all things that the queen should have no issue, for the reasons already stated, and because they could not endure that any one should have authority in the kingdom besides themselves; and they could not but foresee that their influence would be diminished by the said marriage.

For this cause, having consulted with each other, they resolved to murder the said prince, and convoked their friends and accomplices to that end. Also, shortly after the marriage of the said queen and the said prince, the said conspirators deliberated with each other about seizing the said queen, carrying her away and detaining her as a prisoner; the which they afterwards effected, wickedly and in violation of their faith and promises, as well as of the conditions upon which they had agreed among themselves, as will appear by what follows.

Being at that time returned from France, her Ma-

Majesty gave me the command of a certain military force composed of her faithful subjects and my own particular friends, with whom I did my utmost to drive the said Earl Murray out of the kingdom of Scotland into England; the which I accomplished. At the same time the states were assembled to inquire and determine as to the property to be confiscated to the crown.

Among the accomplices of Earl Murray, there were some who followed the court of the Queen, and who, in order to avert the sentence, excited fresh disturbances by means of a murder perpetrated on the person of a Signor David, an Italian; which murder was committed in the drawing-room of the Queen at the Castle of Edinburgh, during her supper, when none of her guards was present, nor even any of those who observed the said Queen. And if (to avoid the danger) several gentlemen and myself had not escaped by a window at the back of the building, we should not have been better treated; it having been so agreed between them. The least that could have happened would have been, that we should be compelled to connive at so wicked and detestable an act.

The said murder having been committed by the advice and at the instigation of the accomplices of Earl Murray, the said Earl returned from England, hoping to seize the reins of government and detain the Queen prisoner; she having been previously very much confined to her own residence, called St. Croix, (Heli-¹lirodis.)

As an excuse for the said murder, they alleged that they had received the positive commands of their King, both by letters and otherwise, to commit it.

Having escaped out of the residence of the said Queen, and being in safety, we collected together some

¹ Holyrood House.

of our best friends and of her Majesty's faithful subjects, in order to rescue her and the King her husband from the captivity in which they were detained. Which design we accomplished, partly by stratagem and partly by force. The following day their Majesties proceeded together towards Edinburgh with a good escort, and pursued Earl Murray and his accomplices so actively that they were forced to leave the country. Moreover, the Queen, being highly indignant at such an assassination, held them in great hatred; as did also the nobility and the rest of her subjects. But the King himself held them in still greater detestation; for, immediately upon his arrival in the said town, he caused to be proclaimed and published, that all that the said murderers (who had killed the said David) had affirmed touching his Majesty was by them falsely invented; and expressly commanded all ranks, officers, and subjects of the said kingdom to make diligent search and arrest those who should have been concerned with the said murderers in the said act, whosoever they might be, and punish them with death; and that if any should be found to lend them secret assistance, they should receive corporal punishment. Further, that those who should faithfully execute his said commands should be liberally rewarded. And, to set an example to others, he in the mean time caused to be arrested four of those who had been present at the said murder; two of whom were executed on the spot.

As soon as some of the friends of those who were in exile were made acquainted with the severe punishment awarded them by the King, they failed not to apprise the others of it; who, in consequence thereof, conceived such a violent hatred to his Majesty, that they diligently sought all means to be revenged of him, as well on account of his denial of the letters and other instruc-

tions they alleged to have received from him, as from the conviction entertained by themselves and others, that, during his Majesty's life, they would never be able to live in Scotland in safety, but that they should always be alike uncertain of their life, their property, and their honours.

Some time afterwards (the better to accomplish their malicious designs) they promised to forget the past, and, by acting the part of sincere friends, satisfy those whom they had formerly offended and treated in a hostile manner. By such representations and fair words they solicited all who had it in their power to assist them in recovering the good graces of the Queen. Among others, they addressed themselves to me with the same view; upon which I did what I could for them, insomuch that they obtained their request: for they placed great reliance on me, on account of the favour bestowed on me by her Majesty and of the free access I had to her; the which I had acquired solely by the faithful services I had performed, as well in the wars of her late mother as in her own; in furtherance of which I had several times exposed my life, besides incurring considerable expenses; for which, however, she has liberally recompensed me, as well by presents as by various appointments of authority with which her Majesty has honoured me.

When I had obtained for them the favour they sought, and they were permitted to follow the court, I deliberated with myself about retiring to live peaceably after the imprisonments and exile I had suffered, and withdrawing from a scene of political hostility and revenge.

In the mean time, those to whom such favour had been shown, and who now followed the court, conducted themselves in so obedient, so devoted, and so benevolent

a manner, that all the gentry of the kingdom rejoiced at it exceedingly ; especially on account of the extinction of the animosities which had previously disturbed the said court. Notwithstanding which they never ceased to persevere in their evil intentions ; seeking day and night the means of taking the King's life.

Some time afterwards the King, being attacked with the small-pox, slept at a place called Kirk-field (to avoid endangering the health of the Queen and the child,) until he should recover ; and this by the common consent of the Queen and of the members of the council, who were desirous of preserving the health of all three.

Then the traitors, perceiving the occasion to be so suitable to their purposes, placed a quantity of gunpowder under the King's bed, and afterwards set fire to it, whereby he was blown up and killed.¹ This was done at the residence of Sir James Balfour, upon whom the Queen had conferred a benefice and the government of the castle of Edinburgh, and to whom she had confided all her treasure, jewels, plate, dresses, and furniture, the said castle being the strongest place in the kingdom.

On the night that this was committed, several members of her council were lodged, as usual, at the residence of the queen, called St. Croix (Helliroadis;) ² I was also lodged within the building, in that quarter where the guard is commonly stationed, which consisted of fifty men. And whilst I was yet in bed, and my first wife, a sister of Earl Huntly, with me, her

¹ Darnley, and Taylor, his servant, who slept in the same apartment with his master, were first strangled, and their bodies carried into the adjacent garden, before the house was blown up ; and there they were found in the morning, without any marks of violence. The gunpowder was not placed in an upper room under the bed, but must have been deposited at the bottom of the house, which was razed to the foundation.

² Holyrood House.

brothers came in the morning to apprise me of the king's death, at which I was much grieved, and many others with me.

The said Earl Huntly was of opinion that we should instantly hold a consultation as to the best means of securing the traitors who had committed the said act.

We were then commanded by the queen, who was much distressed and afflicted, together with the members of the council, to assemble some troops, in order to make diligent search for the said traitors, and, if possible, to arrest them. This we proceeded to do; and, being at the house where the king was lying dead, we first caused his body to be taken and placed under the care of a suitable guard; and then, having found a barrel (or cask) which had contained the powder, we kept it, having first inspected it to see what marks it bore. In the first moments of fury, we arrested several persons suspected of the fact, and detained them until they gave sufficient evidence of the place where they were when the murder was committed; and, in the mean time, I continued to make diligent inquiry into all the circumstances of the case, never imagining that I should myself be suspected. However, some of the members of the council, fearing lest the attention of the queen and myself should be directed to them, entered into a league with each other against her majesty and us to prevent it. They accordingly exerted all their malice and ingenuity, by affixing letters and placards at night to the court-house, the church doors, and about the streets and highways, in order to render me and my friends suspected of the said act.

On learning that I was, by these means, censured and accused of having committed such a crime, of which I and all mine were innocent (as I call God to witness), I besought the queen and her council to allow

legal proceedings to be instituted against me, in order that if, upon strict inquiry, I should be found guilty, I might be punished as such a crime would deserve ; but, if found innocent (as in truth I am,)¹ that such scandalous reports should cease. This request was granted ; and, on the day appointed for the trial, the members of the council assembled, together with many of the nobility and common people, in the place where I was to be arraigned. Among the said members of the council and nobility, who were to sit in judgment upon the question, were the following persons, who were decidedly hostile to me :—Earl Morton, Lords Ruthven, Lindsay, and Sempel, the secretary, justice clerk, and the clerk register. When the charges against me had been read, and my adversaries (especially their principal, the Earl of Lenox, who had been summoned, but did not attend), were convinced that there was no just cause of complaint against me, affecting either my person, property, or honour, I was, according to the laws and customs of the country, by the direction of my judges and with the consent of my opponents then present, declared innocent, and absolved from all that of which I had been accused ; which consisted of having assisted in compassing and committing the murder perpetrated on the person of King Henry, my lord and master ; which charges could in no wise be supported ; while I, on the contrary, proved, by the respectable witnesses that I produced, in what place I was when

¹ Notwithstanding Bothwell's vehement protestations of his innocence, it will be seen by the abstract of his death-bed confession which follows, that the murder was actually perpetrated by him, but at the instigation of those who were then invested with the chief power. His bribe was evidently the hand of the unfortunate queen, whether given with her consent or not, it mattered little to them. Till this point Bothwell seems to have been constant to the interests of Mary's party.

that calamity occurred. On hearing that I was declared innocent, my opponents and enemies rose, and earnestly besought me not to proceed against them on account of the unfounded charges they had brought against me; but the feelings of their heart and the fair expressions of their lips were completely at variance, as I have since experienced, and continue to experience even now.

For the second time, according to the usage of the country and the laws of war, I caused public proclamations to be read in Edinburgh, and letters sealed with my own seal to be affixed to the church doors, the court-house, and other public places, in the form following:—"For the defence of my honour and reputation: if there be any one, whether noble or commoner, rich or poor, disposed to accuse me of treason, secret or overt, let him present himself, that I may give him combat in this unjust cause." Which challenge no man ever thought fit to accept.

For the third time I made my excuses before a general assembly of the three estates, comprising the nobility of the country, all the bishops, abbots, and priors, and all the principal inhabitants of the kingdom; by which assembly my whole trial and sentence were read and revised, in order to determine whether my cause had been legally tried or not, and whether any fraudulent proceeding had occurred respecting them. It was then said and declared that the whole had been conducted with rectitude and justice, and according to the law of the country, so that I accordingly remained free and acquitted of all accusation. Moreover, it was decreed by public proclamation, that, from that day forward, no one should presume, on pain of death, to accuse or calumniate either me or mine on account of the said transaction. After I had gained my cause (as has been stated), they came to me,

at my own house, of their own free will and without being solicited, twenty-eight members of the said parliament; namely, twelve earls, eight bishops, and eight gentlemen, who did me the honour of offering me their support and friendship, as follows:—

First, they declared their conviction that I had done my duty in defending my honour against the charges which had been preferred against me; and, secondly, their determination on that account to employ their persons, property, relations, and friends, and everything dependent upon them, in defending me against all who should thenceforth in any wise persecute me on account of the said crime. Moreover, each of them thanked me particularly for the friendly manner in which I had behaved towards them; adding that the queen was now a widow; that of children she had but one, a young prince; that they would not consent that she should marry a foreigner; and that I appeared to them the most worthy of her of any in the kingdom. That, these things considered, they had resolved to do what they could to facilitate such marriage, and that they would oppose all who should endeavour to raise any impediment to it.

At the same time, they consulted together as to how I might legitimately repudiate my first princess,¹ according to the divine laws of the church and the custom of the country: upon which question they immediately came to an agreement. Also, they forthwith conferred with the queen about the means by which our marriage might be regularly solemnized in presence of the church.

The marriage being accomplished, and everything relating to it duly and regularly completed, I was pre-

¹ Bothwell, as the consort of the queen-regnant of Scotland, affects to the Danes the style of a sovereign prince, but his wife Lady Jane Gordon was really of the blood royal of Scotland.

sented with the government of the kingdom, to the end that I might establish good order therein, especially on the frontiers of England, on account of the murders, pillage, and robbery there committed on both sides. To this desire I acceded; and accordingly departed from Edinburgh with the queen, who was desirous of accompanying me as far as a castle, situated at about seven leagues from the town of Bortuick, where she proposed to remain till my return.

On arriving upon the frontiers, I found the enemy so strong as to make it impossible I should accomplish my intentions; wherefore I returned immediately to the said Bortuick (where the queen had remained) to assemble greater forces.

At this time, the before-mentioned seditious persons, my enemies, seeing that I had taken the field with only a very small force, exerted all their efforts to surround me and take my life.

I accordingly proceeded with all diligence to collect together my friends, and the faithful subjects of the queen. In which I so far succeeded that I delivered the queen from the said castle, and put our enemies to flight; whom I pursued as far as Edinburgh, where they were received; the said town and castle abandoning us and surrendering to them.

Earl Huntly, the archbishop of St. Andrews, and several other members of the council, who were at that time in the said town of Edinburgh, armed themselves immediately that they saw this change, to defend themselves against the seditious party, and to preserve the said town; which design, however, they were unable to accomplish, their opponents being too strong, so that we were disappointed in that quarter.

Finding themselves unable successfully to oppose the disaffected, the said earl and archbishop, in order to

provide for their own safety, voluntarily surrendered the castle, upon condition that they should be at liberty to quit the place whenever they might think proper; but this stipulation was disregarded by the opposite party.

Then the queen and myself, in order to rescue them, departed from the castle of Dunbar with as many men, faithful subjects of her majesty, as we could collect in so short a time, and approached within about a German league of the said Edinburgh; whereupon the disaffected came forth from the said town, and encamped opposite to us within the range of gun-shot.

Shortly afterwards there came to us a gentleman deputed by them, who presented us with a printed statement of the causes which had brought them there, as follows:—

First, to deliver the queen from the captivity in which I held her. And, secondly, to revenge the murder of the late king, already described, of which I and mine were accused.

With respect to the first point, I replied, that I was not in any wise holding the queen in captivity; but, on the contrary, that I loved and honoured her as she deserved; for the truth of which statement I appealed to herself.

With regard to the second, I continued to deny having participated in, or consented to, the murder of his said majesty; adding, that, although I had been already clearly and sufficiently justified, I was still ready, if any gentleman of honour and unexceptionable extraction was disposed to accuse me of such a deed, immediately to defend my honour and my life between the two armies, agreeably to the letters on that subject which I had formerly caused to be published in Edinburgh, and to the ancient usages of war.

Whereupon it was answered, that there was one Lord Lindsay, who was prepared to meet me in the field;

which proposal, the queen, and the gentlemen who were with her, considered unreasonable, upon the following grounds :—that the said Lord Lindsay was not of such a parentage as to be comparable to me, nor of such an ancestry or house ; and that, moreover, I was a husband worthy of the queen.

Nevertheless, I so persuaded the queen and all of them by the many reasons I urged, that they eventually consented that the combat should take place.

Shortly afterwards I repaired to the field of action, to await the arrival of my antagonist, where I remained till very late in the evening. He did not, however, make his appearance, as I will prove (when necessary) by the testimony of five thousand gentlemen, upon pain of forfeiting my life.¹ As night approached, I prepared to give battle to the enemy, by putting my troops in marching order, they also doing the like on their side.

The queen, seeing me and her good subjects on the one side, and the seditious party on the other, ready to commence hostilities, Grange, (who was one of the best officers among our adversaries) reminded her of the motive of their being there assembled, which was to deliver her majesty from the miserable bondage in

¹ Chalmers gives the following account of this challenge :—
“ Bothwell now sent a herald to the adverse camp, offering to prove his innocence by single combat. James Murray, who had placcarded Bothwell, and his elder brother, the comptroller of the queen’s household, offered successively to accept the challenge; but Bothwell objected to both as inferior to him in rank. Bothwell now challenged Morton by name, who is said to have accepted the challenge, and appointed the weapons to be two-handed swords, and the conflict to be on foot. Lord Lindsay now stepped out, and begged Morton to allow him the honour of fighting for his innocence and Bothwell’s guilt. Morton readily assented, but the queen is said to have commanded them to desist.”

which I held her, the which she openly denied before all; and, seeing us ready to commence the attack, she, being anxious to prevent by all means in her power the effusion of blood on either side, went over to them, accompanied by the said Grange, in order to discuss the subject, and arrange matters quietly. And, believing that she might go over to them in safety, without fear of treachery, and that no one would presume to molest her person, she requested me not to advance farther with my troops. Upon which I advised her to look well to what she was about to do, and not to sacrifice herself to her own good intentions; adding that I was well acquainted with the treachery of their hearts, and that, if she failed to consent to their proposals, they would take her prisoner, and unjustly deprive her of her authority. Also I besought her to retire to Dunbar, and suffer us to defend her just cause, agreeably to our desire of honouring and serving her, and to our devotion to the public welfare and the repose of our country. Finding it, however, impossible to divert her from her purpose, or to induce her to listen to my representations, I entreated her at all events to demand a guarantee of safe conduct for her person, with certain other conditions, which I should propose. Whereupon Grange gave his own solemn promise and assurance to that effect in their name.

And it should be mentioned that the said Grange represented himself as being sent, at the unanimous request of their whole party, for the sole purposes of tendering their allegiance to her majesty as their superior, and of giving her assurances of safe conduct in negotiating with them; and that each of them, according to his station and dignity, desired nothing more than to give her (after God) all honour and obedience in everything that it might please her majesty to command.

When every thing was agreed upon, under a promise of inviolable adherence to the terms stipulated by the two armies in presence of the nobles and others then assembled, the queen requested me to return with my troops to Dunbar, where she would speedily join me; or, at all events, I should hear from her.

Wherefore I departed from her, according to her desire, relying upon the solemn promise which had been given, as well orally as in writing. These things being considered, it is easy for any one to perceive that their intention was, had always been, and is still, to invade the authority and power of the queen their natural princess, and, under the pretext already stated (that she was deprived of the free exercise of her authority,) to assume the direction of her kingdom, and give the law therein.

Every thing being thus arranged, I quitted the queen; and she went over to them, who immediately took possession of her person, and placed it in safe custody; first, at the castle of Edinburgh, where she remained only one night; and the following day at another, situated on a small island, called Lochleven; to the end that she might be unable either to apprise us of what had occurred, or to hear from us, and also from fear lest we should take measures to rescue her.

Seeing the tardy and treacherous proceedings of our enemies, we assembled with the gentlemen hereafter named, and the nobility, first in the west, and afterwards in the north, advising of the means to be adopted for her majesty's deliverance.

The Duke of *Schettelarault*.

[i. e. Hamilton duke of Chatelherault.]

Earls.	Archbishops.	Lords.
Huntly.	St. André.	Heris.
Argile.	Glascau.	Setoun.
Crafurdt.	Bishops.	Oliphant.
Errel.	Dunkel.	Bridt.
Merschall	Aberdin.	Bortuick.
Eglentoun.	Murray.	Gray.
Cassels.	Ros.	Ogelby.
Roths.	Dumblen.	Glams.
Montrois.	Galloway.	Jester.
Caithnes.	Argeil.	Sommeruel.
Sunderlandt.	Brethin.	Drummundt.
Monteith.	Ilis.	Lowat.
	Abbots.	Saltoun.
	Arbroth.	Forbes.
	Dunfermelingh.	Elphinstoun.
	Meurhrous.	Flemingh.
	Kylwimingh.	Leuingstoun.
	Deix.	
	Kinlos.	
	Glenlois.	
	Corsragold.	

We were all of opinion that it would be prudent to wait a short time, and not pursue them hastily whilst their first fury lasted, and whilst they were naturally expecting we should attempt to rescue the queen ; whose life would certainly have been put in imminent danger had we immediately done so.

It was, however, unanimously resolved by all that were there present,—and those who were unavoidably absent ratified the decision by letters under their seal—that I should proceed to France by Denmark, where I

might provide all things necessary for the present emergency, and for the sending of a military force into Scotland, as well by sea as by land; also for the purpose of laying a complaint before the King of Denmark, and of relating to him the circumstances of our case, all of us conceiving that by these means the said king might be induced to give me his good advice, succour, aid, and favour; the better to insure which, it was further agreed that I should tender him my services and the offer of every thing in my power. This measure, they were convinced, would meet with the queen's approbation; but, for the greater security, I contrived to obtain her opinion upon it, which was, that she entirely concurred with the advice I had received, and begged me to put the plan in execution as speedily as possible.

This done, I embarked from the north of Scotland with the design of following the advice above stated. And having business in the Orkney and Shetland Islands, I went there, but remained only two days. I, however, went ashore in the Shetland Isles, where I met with some vessels from Bremen and Hamburgh with the masters of which I endeavoured to make an agreement as to what I should give them per month so long as they should continue in my service; for, owing to the haste with which I had set out, I had been unable to provide myself with suitable vessels, and had been compelled to take such as I could find, which were very small.

The agreement I made with the man from Bremen, named Girard Hemlin, was, that I should pay fifty crowns per month as long as he might remain in my service; and that if his vessel should be lost, or I should be desirous of purchasing it, I should give him ———,¹ and

¹ The abbreviation used here is supposed to mean 1600 crowns.

for the guns on board one hundred crowns more; as shown by the contract executed between us. I also made the same conditions with the man from Hamburgh. But some of my enemies arrived at the place while I was on shore at the house of the receiver, and separated my vessels, as I shall proceed to explain.

The disaffected party had collected together four vessels, well armed and equipped with military, the chiefs of which were the before-mentioned Grange and Lord Tillebairn, who at daybreak entered a harbour of the said islands, called Bressesund, where four of my vessels were lying. And when the masters of my vessels perceived them, the whole of my military force being on shore, they cut their cables and those of their boats, and retired to another harbour called Ounst, at the north of the same island.

However, their principal vessel observed diligently that vessel of mine which was the worst sailer, and chased it. My vessel was ahead, and theirs followed; and it happened that both of them struck upon a sunken rock, so that their vessel, which was their best and served as admiral, remained there, whilst mine, although somewhat damaged, got off.

When I learned that the enemy proposed coming ashore to pursue my party, I hastily embarked with them at the said port of Ounst, where I did not intend to remain, but merely to make head against my enemies. But their three vessels overtook and pressed me so vigorously, that, being unable to resist, I was compelled to make sail and direct one of my vessels (containing the remainder of my plate, accoutrements, and furniture, which I had carried away from the Castle of Edinburgh) to proceed to another harbour, called Schalowe, and there agree with the before-mentioned Hamburghese, and with him to follow me, who was

proceeding to Denmark, as before resolved : I also directed that they should bring away the remainder of my companions, whom I had left on the island.

My adversaries pursued and annoyed me in such a manner, that I was compelled to maintain an action with them for the space of three hours : at length one of their balls carried away the mainmast of my best vessel. Immediately there arose such a violent tempest, with a south-west wind, that it became impossible for me to keep my course. I was accordingly driven upon the coast of Norway, where I was compelled to refit and provision my vessels, which, owing to the abruptness of my departure, had not been duly provided. The day after that on which I sailed from the Shetland Isles, I arrived on the coast of Norway, at a place called Carmesund, where I was taken into port by a vessel from Rostock, which had followed us during the night for the purpose of conducting us into the said harbour : my pilots being unacquainted with it. He also lent us his boat to carry one of our cables ashore.

In the mean time came Christen Olborg, captain of one of the ships of the King of Denmark, called *L'Ours* ; who inquired whence we came and whither we were going. To which the master of my vessel replied, " that we were Scotch gentlemen, desiring to proceed to Denmark, to serve his majesty." I also directed that the honours customary within the seas and jurisdiction of foreign princes should be performed.

The said Captain Olborg desired to see our passports and other documents, to satisfy himself as to the nature of our mission or business. But, circumstanced as I was, and still am at this day, that is to say, destitute of all things necessary to me according to my rank, in consequence of being separated from one of my vessels, which, however, I was hourly expecting, I was unwill-

ing to make myself known until that vessel should have joined me, or to go on shore until I should reach Denmark. I therefore sent one of the gentlemen by whom I was accompanied, to inform him, that, in consequence of the active pursuit which had been commenced against me in Scotland, I had been prevented from obtaining the certificate and other papers which he required, and that she from whom I might obtain them was in close confinement. He then inquired whether there was any one of our party who spoke different languages, and if so, requested that he might be allowed to go and pass a short time with him: to which I acceded.

He afterwards asked the master of my vessel and several others of our party to go on board his ship, that he might provision our vessels and accommodate us with different things that we stood in need of; giving us to understand that a vessel had arrived in the said harbour, having wherewithal to supply us. But having got them on board, he detained them that night by fair words, and afterwards summoned the peasantry of the neighbouring country to come to the assistance of the vessels of the King of Denmark, there being some pirates and freebooters (as he conceived) that he was desirous of securing, agreeably to the instructions he had received from the king his master. He however betrayed no sign of his intentions to those of my companions he had on board, but gave them to understand that he was only going to take them to Bergen, to collect the different articles they required. Compared with ours, his vessel had but very few hands on board.

Moreover, he requested me to allow my people, to the number of eighty, to go on board his vessel, not because he entertained any bad opinion or suspicion of us, but merely for the accommodation of provisions, which could not be obtained at that place for money.

And he promised upon his honour that we should all be at liberty to return to our vessels and depart whenever we might think proper (to which effect he gave us letters sealed with his own seal.) Moreover, he offered to give us a letter of safe-conduct, that we might go where we pleased, without impediment; but he fulfilled no part of his promise.

When we had entirely complied with his demands, he separated my people, who were in number nearly a hundred and forty, and entirely violated his own voluntary engagements; of the causes of which proceeding we were wholly ignorant, never having offended his Majesty, or occasioned the slightest detriment to any of his subjects, or contravened the rights of his seas, or taken the value of a penny without paying for it. I then declared who I was, and where I wished to go; but he still persisted in keeping us prisoners, contrary to my confident hopes; for, if I had had any suspicion of his intentions, I might have proceeded towards him and his crew in any manner I might have thought fit, being twice as strong as he.

Having arrived at Bergen, I begged Erich Rosenkrantz to assist me in hiring suitable vessels for rowing me along the coast, (I suffering much from sea-sickness,) that I might as soon as possible reach Denmark; and farther that he would favour me with a passport. In the mean time, I resided, for the space of an entire month, sometimes at the castle and sometimes on board with my companions: also during about three weeks I frequently took walks wherever I pleased about the town, so that, if I had been conscious of having committed any misdeed, it would have been easy for me to escape to any other place I might have chosen. I feel much indebted to that worthy gentleman, Mr. Rosenkrantz, for the confidence he reposed in me.

After having long waited for my passport, without which I was unwilling to go, I was informed by certain councillors of the town, that Erich Rosenkrantz and themselves had determined that I should follow the King's vessels to Denmark, but unaccompanied by my companions, excepting four or five of them: they accordingly dismissed the remainder of my party, with leave to return to Scotland, or proceed wherever else they might see fit.

The master of the vessel which I had ordered to the Shetland Isles to bring away those of my companions whom I had left there, as already explained, (and on board of which were my property, plate, accoutrements, and jewels,) on being informed, while proceeding along the coast of Norway, that I was detained, and that my people had been dismissed, immediately returned.

So that I have not only been arrested and detained, as well here as elsewhere, nearly four months and a half, contrary to all my expectations, having imagined I was coming among friends, although unprovided with a passport; not only have I been unjustly blamed and accused by my enemies; but am now left destitute of every thing necessary and suitable to my rank. All which I, however, regard much less than the contumely and indignities to which I am subjected in my present confinement, and the circumstance of being, without any cause, detained and prevented from proceeding on the business I have in other kingdoms with certain princes and noblemen, for the liberation of the Queen my princess; and as it appears to me, to our great disgrace, detriment, and ruin, by those from whom I should have expected another kind of aid and assistance.

*Second Statement of James Earl of Boduel [Bothwell]
to the King of Denmark.*

Not being permitted to communicate directly, either with his Majesty or the members of his council, for the purpose of acquainting them with the motive of my coming to this kingdom, I find myself compelled to state in writing what I should have hoped to be allowed to declare orally to his Majesty; and I have to request that the worthy Mr. Peter Oxe, grand master of the said kingdom, will be pleased to lay this my statement before his said Majesty.

First, there have occurred great troubles and dissensions in Scotland, as well among the magistrates, as among the common people of that kingdom, by reason of certain of the said magistrates having endeavoured, under the cloak of religion, to forward their own private interests; and by illegal means and false pretences to reduce the kingdom to a state of subjection to their own power and authority: the consequence of which is that the said kingdom is divided into two parties. The Queen and myself having duly considered this state of things, and perceiving that it would be impracticable to restore order by violent means, without producing infinite calamities and great effusion of blood, have endeavoured to meet the difficulties of the case, and obviate the said calamities by gentle methods; and with this view the Queen demanded an assurance of safe-conduct on the part of our adversaries for the purpose of conferring with them and agreeing upon such arrangements, admissible by both parties, as might lead to the perfect union and concord of her subjects and the general benefit of the kingdom.

Accordingly, our said adversaries, with their accomplices, promised to the Queen, Lady Mary, and gave

her in writing their assurance of inviolable safe-conduct ; which assurance they, however, afterwards violated and broke, when the said Queen went to communicate with them ; they detaining her as a prisoner, and afterwards carrying her to the Castle of Lochleven, where she is at this day, (as has been more fully detailed in the written statement made by me for my defence,) and which I beg may be presented to his Majesty, in order that he may be made acquainted with the final decision of the said Queen and her council : which was,

First, that I should solicit of his Majesty of Denmark, as the ally and confederate of the said Queen, aid, favour, and assistance, as well in troops as in vessels ; for the purpose of delivering her from the captivity in which she is at present placed.

Also that, in return for the expenses attendant on such assistance, I should offer to his said Majesty to surrender the islands of Orkney and Shetland, free, quiet, and without hindrance, to the crown of Denmark and Norway ; as they have been already, some time theretofore.

Moreover, in order that his Majesty and the members of his council may be better assured of the truth of the above (as mentioned in the statement made by me for my defence, and briefly comprehended also in this,) I entreat his Majesty to be pleased to cause the letters of cession of the said islands of Orkney and Shetland to be prepared, with such rigid conditions as to his said Majesty and the councillors of the kingdom of Denmark may appear most binding and secure. And I in good faith promise that the said letters shall be sealed by the Queen, myself, and the council of the kingdom of Scotland, and signed by each of us with his own hand.

Whereupon I beseech his said Majesty to vouchsafe to me an answer, that I may be enabled to acquit my-

self of the promise made by me to the Queen of Scotland and the council of her kingdom, at their own earnest request; and also that they may know what they may venture to hope for, in this their extreme trouble and necessity.

At Malmoe, the 13th of January, 1568.

[In explanation of this "Second Statement," it should be remarked that, on his marriage with the Queen, Bothwell had been created duke of Orkney. The Orkney and Shetland islands originally belonged to the crown of Denmark, but were held by Scotland in mortgage, or as Melville, in his memoirs, expresses it, "The isles laid in wadset to the crown of Scotland." It is to this day an historical mystery wherefore Bothwell was detained a prisoner so many years in Denmark unless on account of his assumption of the title of duke of Orkney. Of the date of his death we find no record, but, judging from the following letter from Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow, we may presume that it took place in the month of April or May 1576.]

*Queen Mary to her Ambassador the Archbishop of Glasgow.*¹

June 1, 1576.

I have advice of the death of the Earl of Bothwell, and how that, before he died, he made an ample confession of all his sins; and among the rest, that he owned himself to have been the author, and in fact, likewise guilty of the murder of the late king my husband: and in terms most expressive, nay, upon the very damnation of his soul, declared me innocent thereof. If this be the real truth, you may easily discern the advantage it

¹ Keith's Scotland, b. ii., App. p. 142.

would be to me in defeating the false calumnies of my enemies. I pray you, therefore, try all means to come into the precise knowledge of this fact. I am told that the persons who assisted at the emitting this declaration, and which was afterwards signed and sealed by them in form of a testament, were Otto Braw, of the Castle of Cambre; Piers Braw, of the Castle of Vascut; Mr. Gullenstearn, of the Castle of Fulkenstere; the Bishop of Skonen, and four bailiffs of the town.¹

¹ It will be observed, that the account which the poor queen had received from report of this confession varies a little from the preceding narrative, but which was not the original document. It deserves remark, that the King of Denmark and all the witnesses, among whom was a bishop, were Protestants, therefore it was by no means a probable circumstance that so many Protestants should join to perjure themselves to clear the reputation of a Catholic princess, who had been so far from flattering the King of Denmark or his state, that she refused to consent to her son's alliance with his daughter, because he was only an elective king. (See the Appendix, her conversation with Somer.) The King of Denmark had, besides, joined Queen Elizabeth and the government of Scotland in a Protestant league to support their religion against the Catholic alliances. He was, however, a just man, and sent notice of Bothwell's dying confession to every prince in Europe; more especially he sent it to Queen Elizabeth, who as carefully suppressed it. As all Europe rung with it when it was publicly used in Scotland as evidence against the Earl of Morton, one of the murderers, if it had been fabricated (as party Scotch writers say it was), how came the Protestant king and prelate of Denmark not to deny it? The original document was to be seen in the beginning of this century, as the following notice affirms in Mr. Hamilton's Observations on Buchanan. "An authentic copy of the confession of Bothwell is extant, and to be seen in St. James's Library in London; it is signed by the governor of the castle of Melling; by Guilla Brome, governor of the castle of Altenburgh; Pierie Braue, of the castle of Neswell; by Guillim Strance, by the Bishop of Skonen, and five bailiffs. Bothwell declared that Queen Mary did never give consent to her husband's death, or was privy thereto, as he should answer to the eternal God. And being asked the ques-

Devil-ued Confession of the Earl of Bothwell.¹

The confession of my Lord Bothwell before he died, in presence of divers lords of Denmark, (being more long in Latin and Danish.) The lords present, were these: Baron Cowes, of Malinge Castle; Otta Brawe, of Clisinbrouche Castle; Monsieur Gullione Starne, of Fowltostic Castle; the Bishop of Skonen, and four bailies of the town, who desired him that he would declare his conscience, and say nothing but the truth concerning the king and queen of Scotland, with the child.

Imprimis, he did take it upon his oath, that the queen never knew nor consented to the death of the king, but he and his friends, by his appointment, divers lords consenting, and subscribing thereunto, which yet was not there present at the deed doing. Their names be Lord Jamy E. of Murray, Lord Morton, Lord Robert, the Bishop of St. Andrews, with divers others, whom he said he could not remember at that present.

Likewise, he said, that all the friendship which he had of the queen, he got always by witchcraft² and the
tion, 'Who were the contrivers of the murder?' he answered, 'Murray the Bastard was the first proposer, but Morton laid the plot, and I accomplished it.' For which he begged God's pardon, and expired."

This document, which exists undoubtedly in some of our archives, is not yet properly brought to light; for our transcript from the Cottonian, printed above, is evidently only an abstract of it, as the account by Mr. Hamilton, just quoted, is but a report from memory from a view of it.

¹ MS. Cotton. Titus, c. vii. fol. 39, b. The Danish names seem strangely spelled in this paper. The *king* means Darnley, the *queen*, Mary Stuart, but who the *child* is, appears dubious. It is possible the inquiry was made concerning the infant which some have asserted that Mary had by Bothwell.

² It must always be remembered that, although the crime of witchcraft cannot be committed, it may be attempted with inten-

inventions belonging thereunto, specially by the use of sweet water, and that he found means to put away his own wife, to obtain the queen.

Likewise he confessed that he had deceived divers gentlewomen in France and in England, with many other wild facts and deeds, which he said were long to rehearse, asking God forgiveness thereof. Furthermore, he confessed that he took two lords' daughters out of Denmark into Scotland, and made them believe that he would marry them, and likewise ruined many gentlewomen of Scotland. Item, he did confess that he had deceived two of the burgomaster's daughters of Lubeck, with many like, which he said were long to rehearse, and forgave all the world, and was sorrowful for his offences, and did receive the sacrament, that all the things he spoke were true, and so he died.

(No date.)

tions quite as guilty as if successful. Bothwell had been trying tricks of this kind from his boyhood. (See the succeeding letter of La Mothe.) He believed, as the whole of his auditors did, that his magical schemes were not only guilty in intention but mischievous in effect; therefore it ought not to excite surprise that he acknowledged his magic with his murders and other crimes. There is no doubt that he had tried schemes to bewitch the queen and other women; therefore this confession of magic, so true to the customs and manners of his era, does not invalidate the rest of the facts contained in the statement: it merely proves that he made a mistake as to cause and effect. He supposed his power over the queen to be the effect of his incantations, because he was turned of fifty, coarse and ugly, when his power really proceeded from his long habit of command and that personal audacity often successful in partizan warriors.

END OF VOL. I.

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